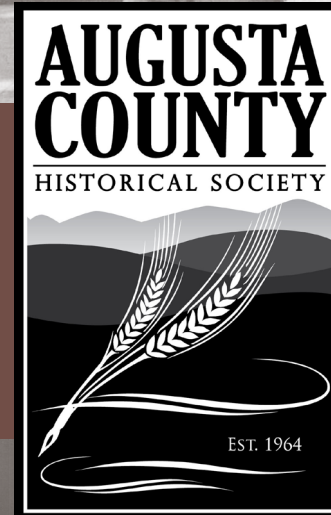
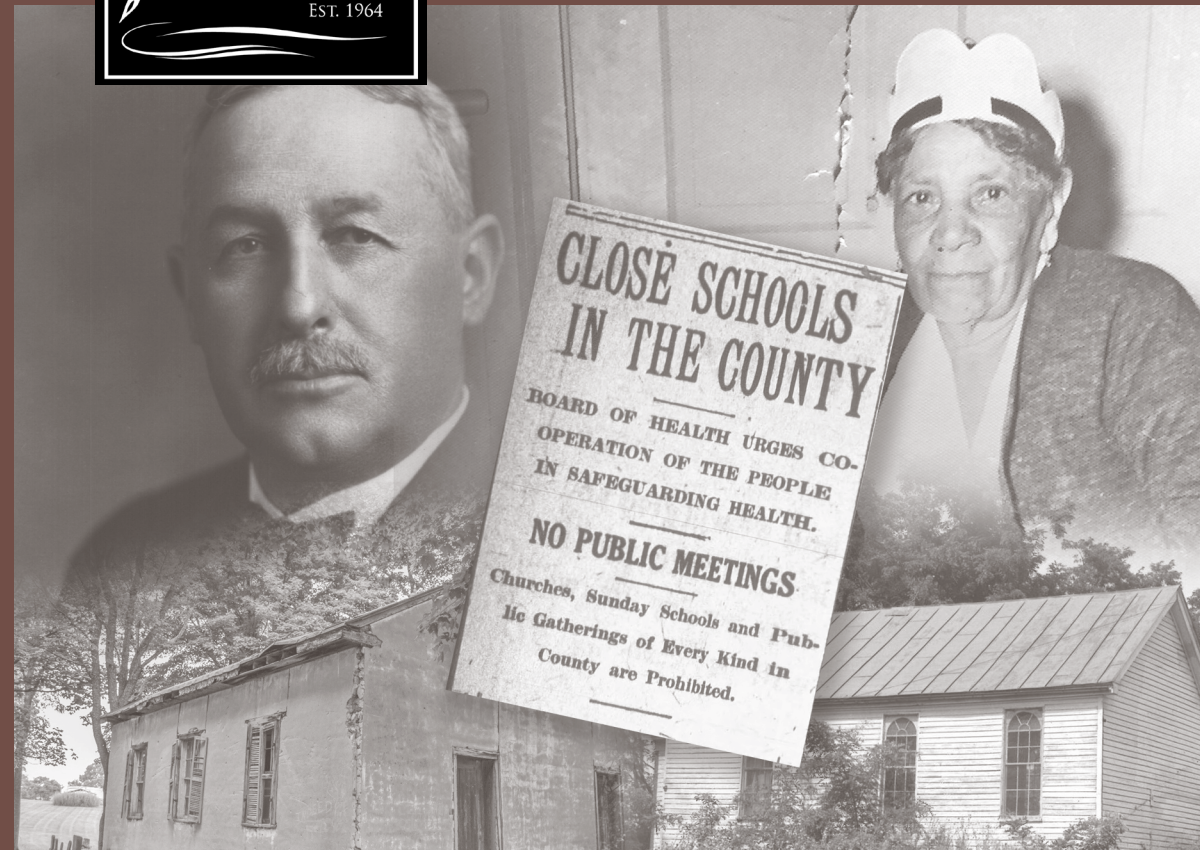




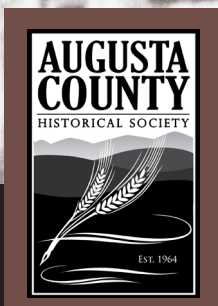
AUGUSTA HISTORICAL BULLETIN



# AUGUSTA HISTORICAL BULLETIN



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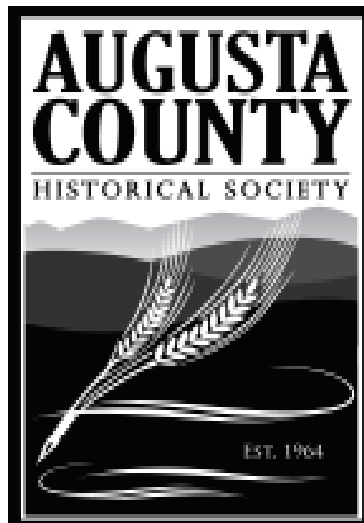
# Augusta Historical Bulletin

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*Cover design by Jennifer Wood*



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## *Augusta Historical Bulletin*: Editorial Policy

The editors of the *Augusta Historical Bulletin* welcome submissions relating to any topic or period in the history of Augusta County, Virginia, and its wider environs. Submissions may take the form of articles, research notes, edited documents, or indexes to historical documents. Other formats might be acceptable, but prospective authors of such submissions are encouraged to consult with a member of the editorial board. With rare exceptions, the *Bulletin* does not publish manuscripts that focus exclusively on genealogical matters. Authors should strive to make their contributions accessible to a broad readership. In matters of form and style, authors should adhere to the guidelines and strictures set forth in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed., or Kate L. Turabian, et al., *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., both of which are widely available in libraries and bookstores. A style sheet, prepared by the editors of the *Bulletin*, is available upon request. Authors should submit four double-spaced copies of their manuscripts, with endnotes where applicable, and include photocopies of any illustrations. Upon acceptance of the manuscript for publication, authors must provide an electronic copy of it, as well as publishable-quality illustrations.

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# Orson Fowler's 'Gravel-Wall Plan' in Augusta County

By Sam Biggers

*Editor's Note: This paper is part of a masters thesis written by Sam Biggers during his time at the College of Charleston/Clemson University Graduate Program in Historic Preservation in Charleston, South Carolina. A native of Augusta County, Sam is now based in Fredericksburg, where he is a Project Engineer for Kjellstrom + Lee. In his spare time he continues to explore and document the old buildings of Augusta County.*

The Shenandoah Valley is well known as one of the United States' formative regions of cultural movement and development. Augusta County's central location in the valley allows for an intriguing cross-section of architecture dating from the eighteenth century, which has attracted the studies of some of the country's leading architectural historians over the past few decades. Like elsewhere in the country, Augusta County was not immune to far-reaching styles and advances in building technology, which has been noted by those who have studied the county's architecture. Just like elsewhere, Gothic Revival style buildings are found, as are Federal, Victorian, and others. Likewise, brick, frame, and stone buildings are present in the county, all ranging widely in age. This variation, both in style and material, knit Augusta County into larger national building trends of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Though there are anomalies that make Augusta County's architecture particularly interesting and unique, most of its architecture falls within these regional and national trends.

One such trend is a building material known as "gravel wall." Popularized by the writings of noted phrenologist Orson Squire Fowler, gravel wall buildings first appeared in Augusta County in 1859, before falling out of popularity around 1900.<sup>1</sup> Though identified by architectural historians during their studies of the county's architecture in the 1970s and 1980s, these buildings were never given a dedicated study, nor were they definitively attributed to the writings of Orson Fowler. Gravel wall buildings remain a critically under-studied resource within the Shenandoah Valley, especially because of likely greater numbers northward in Rockingham and Shenandoah Counties. In Augusta County, at

least fifty gravel wall buildings were constructed between 1859 and 1900, almost entirely by William H. Peterson and his son of the same name. These buildings, a number of which still stand, add to the beautiful complexity of Augusta County's architectural history and tie the county to national reform building trends of the mid-nineteenth century.

### **Fowler's "Gravel-Wall Plan"**

The "gravel wall" material was proposed by Orson Fowler in the third edition of his book, *A Home For All*, in 1853. While Fowler's writings on architecture gained him a level of notoriety, he was primarily known for his writings on phrenology. Phrenology asserted that physical measurements of the human brain could reveal traits and characteristics of human subjects. Fowler's own efforts to understand the brain served as a baseline for his arguments about architecture. It should be noted that Fowler had no formal training as an architect or a builder, despite authoring *A Home for All*. Nevertheless, Fowler's book had a considerable effect on nineteenth-century American architecture and sits firmly alongside other mid-century reform-minded writings. Fowler's main focus in *A Home for All* was the octagonal shape in building. Consequently, octagonal buildings have become the focus of architectural historians studying Fowler's influence, while the gravel wall material has never before been studied in any detail.<sup>2</sup>

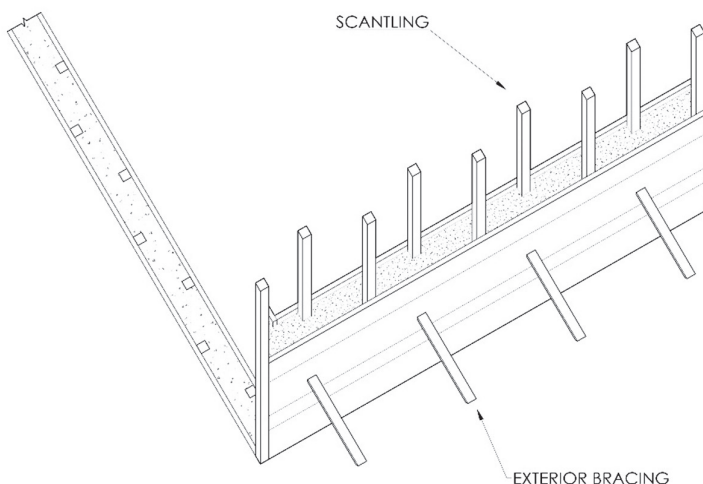
Fowler's inspiration for "gravel wall" material occurred during an 1850 trip to Wisconsin, where he observed "houses built wholly of lime, mixed with that coarse gravel and sand."<sup>3</sup> By this time, the first two editions of *A Home for All* were already in print and Fowler was an enthusiastic advocate of octagonal building. In his first two editions of his book, Fowler advocated for board wall construction, which consisted of milled boards stacked one on another to build walls. The 1850 Wisconsin trip left Fowler thoroughly enamored of what he termed "gravel wall," so much so that he abandoned board wall construction altogether. This shift appears to also have occurred with J.M. McCue, who contracted William H. Peterson to build a board-wall house in 1859, before transitioning to gravel wall for a kitchen addition and a carriage house just a year later. This house still stands just outside of Mount Solon (Figure 1). Perhaps McCue was frustrated by the construction cost of his board wall residence, or perhaps he didn't yet possess a third edition of *A Home for All* and was oblivious to the existence of gravel wall construction. From that point onward, Peterson and other builders spread gravel wall construction through the county.<sup>4</sup>



*Figure 1: The McCue House, constructed of board walls. Photo: author, 2017.*

Gravel wall construction in Augusta County is composed of a mixture of stones (ranging in size from pebbles to large stones), lime, sand, and water (for curing). These materials were combined in wooden forms and left to cure and harden. These forms were moved and reused as curing was completed (Figure 2). In some gravel wall houses, wooden form boards were left in place once walls were built (Figure 3). Only the outer walls of the buildings were gravel wall, with a stucco render applied to the exterior. This stucco render was often scored to give the appearance of stone block. Roof and floor systems were constructed of wood, just as with brick, frame, and log construction. Thus, only the shell of the building was gravel wall.

*Figure 2: Conjectural gravel wall form structure. Scantling (or posts) were sometimes left in place after the walls were completed. Drawing by author.*







*Figure 3: Wooden forms left in the attic of the ca. 1890 Broyles House near Roman. Photo: author, 2017.*

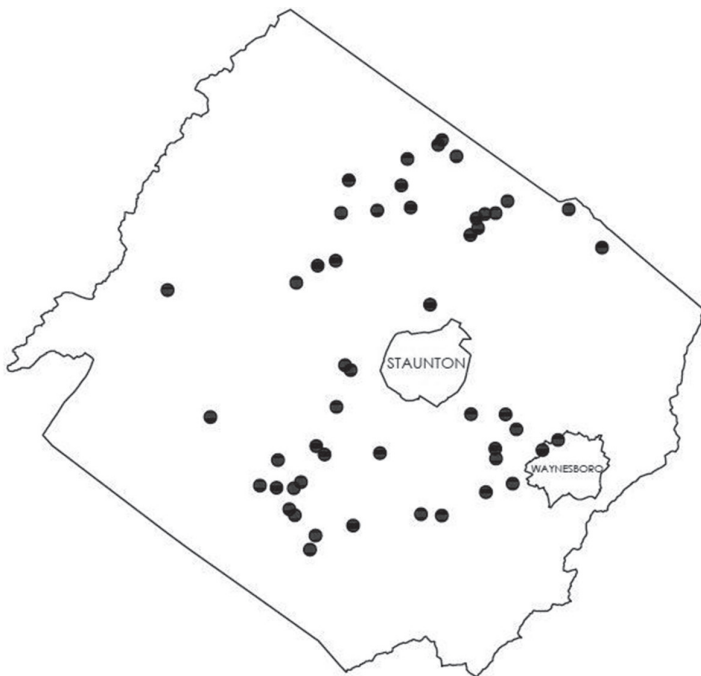
Material sourcing for gravel wall construction seems to have been simple. Chemical analysis of samples taken from gravel wall buildings in the county suggest that Peterson and other builders sourced materials locally. Augusta County's bountiful system of creeks and rivers meant that sand was available in large quantities. Much of the sand used in gravel wall buildings in the county also comes with a large amount of silt and clay, a by-product of its sourcing from rivers and streams. Beneath Augusta County lies a layer of limestone, meaning that both stone and raw ingredients for lime production are readily available. The William Glenn House (Figure 4) was constructed just a quarter of a mile from a stone quarry and lime kiln, meaning that two of the four necessary materials for the construction of the house were nearby. The house's close proximity to the South River provided the final materials in sand and water. Other similar examples exist throughout the county. In very close proximity to a kiln noted on Jedidiah Hotchkiss's 1885 atlas of the county near Tinkling Spring Church was the ca. 1883 Gilkeson House and the ca. 1882 Harnsberger House. Likewise, the map noted another lime kiln on the outskirts of Fishersville, close to two other 1880s gravel wall houses. Thus, Augusta County's extensive network of rivers and streams, when combined with its abundant limestone underlay, left the county well suited for gravel wall construction.



*Figure 4: The William Glenn House. Photo: Ann McCleary, Virginia Landmarks Commission, 1981.*

While building materials necessary for gravel wall construction were found in natural abundance in Augusta County, abundance alone does not account for the rise in popularity of the material. Stone buildings had largely fallen out of favor and were replaced with wood and brick buildings by the mid-nineteenth century, so why was gravel wall so suddenly embraced in Augusta County? Stone houses still held prominence on the Augusta County landscape and served as strong links to the county's not-so-distant frontier and early Republic past. The materials necessary for gravel wall construction were identical to that of stone construction. Water, stone, sand, and lime were all needed for both stone and gravel wall construction, but the manner in which these materials were used in construction set them apart. Whereas with stone construction, a stonemason would choose, cut, and lay each stone, the process behind gravel wall construction was much less precise and skill-intensive. Gravel wall construction gave stonemasons an opportunity to apply their trade to a cousin of stone construction, as in the case of Elisha Curry. Curry completed the "concreting" for the Pleasant View Church (located near Roman in the northern portion of the county) in 1879.<sup>5</sup> Curry is listed on census records as a stone mason, a profession in which his father also worked.

There are also hints that fire protection was a contributing factor in the rise of gravel wall construction's popularity. A fire on the property of William Glover, south of Middlebrook, in 1885 could have inspired the construction of his ca. 1890 gravel wall house.<sup>6</sup> Just up the road, C.T. Palmer experienced the destruction of his store by fire in 1878.<sup>7</sup> On the 1885 Hotchkiss map, Palmer is noted as owning two gravel wall houses in the Middlebrook area. A March 1874 fire destroyed J.T. Maupin's house in Stuarts Draft.<sup>8</sup> Just eight years later, William H. Peterson built a gravel wall house for Maupin, described as "one of the finest in the county" in clear view of the brand new Shenandoah Valley Railroad.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps fear of fire influenced citizens of Augusta County to embrace gravel wall material as a viable alternative to wood, though more research is needed to substantiate this claim. The most likely explanation for gravel wall construction's spread through the county is a combination of factors. The fireproof nature of gravel wall houses was likely a contributing factor, as was the use of materials found in abundance and the desire to be on the cutting edge of homebuilding in Augusta County with a new "concrete" house.<sup>10</sup>



*Figure 5: Locations of gravel wall buildings in Augusta County. Map by author.*



## The Buildings

In total, at least fifty gravel wall buildings were constructed in Augusta County between 1859 and 1900. These buildings varied widely in location, plan, and use. Gravel wall buildings are found in almost all areas of Augusta County, though concentrated clusters are found in Roman and Middlebrook (Figure 5). Two of the earliest gravel wall houses in the county, the Hogshead House (1859) and the McCue House (1860), are located near Stribling Springs and Mt. Solon, respectively. Indeed, gravel wall buildings first appeared in northern portions of the county, before moving southward into the Middlebrook and Stuarts Draft area, though they did not gain as much traction in urban areas such as Staunton and Waynesboro.

Gravel wall buildings were used as residences, schools, churches, stores, and outbuildings. The overwhelming majority were built as houses, though there was a handful of gravel wall buildings built for other uses. The Mossy Creek Academy was built in 1867 “out of the rubbish of the [former] large and handsome Academy” destroyed during the Civil War, the construction of which Jedidiah Hotchkiss was involved.<sup>11</sup> The Mount Pleasant Church (still standing, Figure 6) and the Pleasant View Church (torn down ca. 1916) were two examples of gravel wall churches. The gravel wall McCorkle Brothers Store (more recently known as the Middlebrook Cannery) in the heart of Middlebrook (Figure 7) was highlighted in Jedidiah Hotchkiss’s 1885 atlas of the county. Numerous gravel wall outbuildings are found throughout the county, such as at the William Glenn House (Figure 8).



Figure 6: The Mount Pleasant Church. Photo: author, 2017.



*Figure 7: The McCorkle Brothers Store. Photo: author, 2017.*



*Figure 8: Gravel wall smokehouse at the William Glenn House. Photo: Ann McCleary, Virginia Landmarks Commission, 1981.*



Perhaps the most effective way to make sense of gravel wall houses in Augusta County is to look at floor plans. Just as gravel wall buildings are found in almost all corners of the county, the layout, size, and orientation of gravel wall houses varies widely. Gravel wall houses are found in single-pile and double-pile forms (Figure 10), irregular and regular plans, as main houses and as additions (Figure 11), and as symmetrical and asymmetrical houses (Figure 9). In short, gravel wall was just a new material choice for those looking to build a new home in Augusta County. While Orson Fowler's large-scale octagon house movement was in full swing elsewhere in the country, Augusta County residents were interested only in the material and not in Fowler's grand experiment.



*Figure 9: The Grace Church Parsonage has an asymmetrical façade, somewhat common in later gravel wall houses. Photo: author, 2017.*

Gravel wall, or concrete (as it was referred to during the period), rose to relative popularity in Augusta County as a building material during the second half of the nineteenth century. Almost entirely built by William H. Peterson and his son, gravel wall buildings are found throughout the county and vary widely. This wide variation suggests that Augusta County residents accepted the material and knit it into their already diverse building traditions. This integration was fueled by the material's fire resistant qualities, ease of sourcing, compatibility with earlier stone building traditions



*Figure 10: The Hugh Baxter House follows a double-pile plan, albeit in an unusual way. Photo: Ed Chappell, Virginia Landmarks Commission, 1976.*



*Figure 11: The Ramsey House, which was an addition to an earlier log house. Photo: Ann McCleary, Virginia Landmarks Commission, 1981.*

and ease of construction. The material would surely have continued to grow in popularity, if it were not for the emergence of concrete block around the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, gravel wall construction enjoyed a lengthy, if somewhat tepid, period of popularity in Augusta County and the surrounding area. A 1977 narrative of an 1859 octagonal gravel wall house in Laurens, South Carolina, noted it as “one of the few surviving examples of ‘gravel wall’ construction in the nation.”<sup>13</sup> Clearly, that is incorrect, as can be seen by the number of gravel wall buildings that remain on the landscape in Augusta County.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>At the time, these buildings were referred to as “concrete” buildings.

<sup>2</sup>There is only one octagonal building in Augusta County: the Harnsberger Octagonal Barn, located outside of Mount Meridian. This building was not studied in detail as part of this paper.

<sup>3</sup>Orson S. Fowler, *The Octagon House: A Home for All*, Dover Edition (New York, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973), 18.

<sup>4</sup>To date, no other board wall buildings have been identified in Augusta County, and very few have been identified in the country.

<sup>5</sup>Dedication of ‘Pleasant View’ Church,” *Staunton Spectator* (Staunton, Va.), June 24, 1879.

<sup>6</sup>East Augusta Mutual Insurance Company,” *Valley Virginian* (Staunton, Va.), May 21, 1885.

<sup>7</sup>Store-House Destroyed by Fire at Arbor Hill,” *Staunton Spectator* (Staunton, Va.), May 21, 1878.

<sup>8</sup>Destroyed by Fire,” *Valley Virginian* (Staunton, Va.), March 26, 1874.

<sup>9</sup>J.M. McCue, “The Concrete Building,” *Staunton Spectator* (Staunton, Va.), Sept. 12, 1882.

<sup>10</sup>These buildings would not be considered “concrete” by modern definitions, but numerous period newspaper accounts refer to them as such.

<sup>11</sup>J.M. McCue, “The Concrete Building,” *Staunton Spectator* (Staunton, Va.), Sept. 12, 1882.

<sup>12</sup>Concrete block dethroned gravel wall as the concrete building material of choice. The opening of the Lehigh Portland Cement plant outside of Craigsville in 1900 precipitated gravel wall’s decline.

<sup>13</sup>The Zelotes Holmes House was surveyed by HABS in 1977 by Bruce Klee Brown (HABS SC-376).



# The Sad Stories of Vermont Civil War Soldiers Who Became POWs in Virginia

By Daniel A. Métraux

*Editor's Note: Bulletin Associate Editor Daniel A. Métraux always offers a few historical vignettes in the pages of this journal, especially if it is something that connects his beloved New England to history in the Augusta County region.*

One of the sadder aspects of modern warfare is the treatment of prisoners-of-war (POWs) by enemy forces. Today various international agreements supposedly govern the treatment of POWs, but all too often hostile forces ignore these rules and make life miserable for prisoners. However, before the modern era there were no fixed rules concerning the treatment of POWs and it was up to individual armies and their governments to decide how to deal with enemy captives.

The American Civil War provides clear examples of atrocities on both sides that led to very bad treatment of POWs. Conditions in POW camps in both the North and the South were deplorable as was the treatment of prisoners. Diaries, letters and numerous publications provide clear evidence of the hellish treatment captive soldiers faced.

Union forces in Virginia during the Civil War often feared capture more than death. Rumors of conditions in such death camps as Andersonville spread north during the war. Research for this article focuses on the vivid memories of Union soldiers from the town of Craftsbury in northern Vermont. They compiled a lengthy narrative of the experiences of many of the men who had enlisted in the Union army in the form of a small book, George F. Sprague's, *Soldiers' Record: Town of Craftsbury, 1861-1865*, published in 1914.<sup>1</sup> Most of Craftsbury's soldiers fought in the Shenandoah Valley and in central Virginia.

Several factors influenced the poor treatment of Union forces at the hands of their Confederate captors. As the war progressed, Confederate forces ran low on such basic supplies such as shoes, clothing, and food while Union forces had much better access to those basic essentials. Therefore, a captured Union POW could be a good source for both shoes and clothing.



*Craftsbury Common Vermont—home for many of the soldiers chronicled here.*

Furthermore, a lack of food on the Confederate side meant scant food for POWs and difficulty in finding places to house them. All these factors were compounded by the hatred that soldiers of one side had for their enemies. It was a bitter war.

Ephraim Brewster of Craftsbury lost his life as a result of his getting wounded in battle in 1863 in Virginia. Left on the field of battle, he viewed hordes of Confederate soldiers stripping and robbing Union dead and wounded. He received good treatment when eventually rescued by Union forces, but was again wounded and captured on 29 June 1863 by Confederates. George Sprague writes about the treatment of the captured soldiers:

The prisoners were stripped of their coats, hats, boots and blankets, robbed of their tea, coffee – everything in true rebel style – and taken to Petersburg. Brewster's wound received no care from the "rebs." Their only food was corn-cob meal and chronic diarrhea set in, aggravated by the only food he received, a small quantity of corn-cob meal, and probably would have died had it not been for the kindness of his fellow prisoners.

Brewster was held in Richmond's Libby prison for three weeks after which he was paroled and sent to Annapolis, Maryland. He was so emaciated that he died shortly after his return to Union lines.

Alanson E. Coon of Craftsbury enlisted in November 1861 and

was soon fighting in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Captured by Confederate forces, he was stripped of his clothing and sent to Andersonville prison wearing only his pants and part of a shirt. His nursing skills allowed him to work in the prison hospital where he survived, but to his horror he witnessed many patients who were quite literally killed by physicians and surgeons who tried many experiments on sick and wounded Union captives.

Charles C. Hoyt also enlisted in the fall of 1861 and was sent to join Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley. Confederate forces captured him in June 1862. He commented that

I was stripped of everything I had, except my coat, shirt and vest. One of the "rebs" ordered me to take off my shirt, but I showed him a bad rent in it and he thought it was not worth taking. Besides taking my boots, hat, watch, money and pipe, they took photographs and letters that were of no use to them. One of them took my Bible, and after looking into it, handed it back to me saying I would need it before I got out of prison. I told him I thought by the treatment I received there, that they ought to read the Bible more than they had done.

When Hoyt arrived at Andersonville after riding in an overcrowded box car, "the sight that met my eyes the recollection of which causes me to shudder even now, no pen can describe. No language has power to portray that half-starved and almost naked crowd around us, hoping to get a crumb of something from some of us, but we were a hungry set to beg from." Daily rations were a small portion of corn cob meal and a small piece of pork the size of a walnut. Hoyt survived somehow and returned to Craftsbury in 1865.

Warren N. Reed of Craftsbury was already forty-two when he enlisted in the Union army in 1862. Sent to Virginia, he and many others in his regiment were captured near Stony Creek Station, stripped of everything they had, packed into a crowded box car, and sent on a journey of seven days to Andersonville in July 1864.

Charles C. Hoyt later wrote the sad story of Reed's capture and death:

The squad of 100 to which Reed belonged in Andersonville, prison was called out and sent to Charleston S.C. some 3 days before the squad to which Hoyt belonged, was sent. When they left Andersonville for Charleston, about the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> of September (1864), they drew 3 days' rations of corn and cob meal bread. Reed ate the whole of his ration at once. When Hoyt's squad reached Charleston, Reed was very sick and lived some 3 or 4 days. Hoyt thinks Reed died not far from the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1864.

This writer became acquainted with Warren N. Reed's great grandson, Homer Reed in the 1970s. Homer Reed made the following comments about his great-grandfather during a 1971 interview:

He was so starved in Andersonville that when he was released, he devoured a great quantity of dirty tainted food that caused his digestive system to collapse. Such was the sad end to a good man who wanted to fight for the glory and good of his country. One cannot imagine the suffering he experienced and the nature of his painful death after devouring that bad rotten food. The Civil War happened more than a century ago, but his suffering still resonates with us...There was nothing glorious about the Civil War and soldiers from Craftsbury were always in the midst of the fighting and dying.

There are other similar tales of Craftsbury men suffering at the hands of Confederate troops. It was said that one should do whatever one could to avoid capture because very few survived the experience. Andersonville prison was by far the worst place that POWs could be sent and the agony of those prisoners remains legendary to this very day. But by the same token Confederate prisoners in Union camps fared no better and tell tales of deep suffering at the hands of their Union captors. General Sherman was correct when he said "War is Hell."

### **Endnote**

<sup>1</sup>George F. Sprague, *Soldiers' Record: Town of Craftsbury, 1861-1865*. Published in 1914. Original copy is in the Craftsbury Public Library

# When the Luxurious Homestead was a Japanese Internment Camp

By Daniel A. Métraux

*Editor's Note: Bulletin Associate Editor Daniel A. Métraux offers another look at war and of persons held captive as a result of that war -- this time the story pertains to World War II and the Japanese diplomats who were held for a period of time at the Homestead in Augusta's neighboring county of Bath. Page references from Takeo Iguchi's book are in parentheses.*

When the United States went to war against Japan and Germany in early December, 1941, a question arose concerning the disposition of several hundred Axis diplomatic personnel and their families living in Washington and elsewhere across the region. The abrupt termination of diplomatic relations meant the closure of their embassies, but the question arose as to what to do with these diplomats and their families. The immediate response concerning the Japanese was to pack them into a train and to remove them to a safe locale where they could not engage in any espionage activities and where they would be safe from angry crowds of Americans eager to exact revenge for Pearl Harbor. Quick thinking led to the commandeering of sections of the famous Homestead resort hotel in Hot Springs, Virginia, in neighboring Bath County, and five months later the Greenbrier Hotel in West Virginia as internment camps for the Japanese.<sup>1</sup>

A recent book by retired Japanese diplomat and scholar, Takeo Iguchi, *Demystifying Pearl Harbor: A New Perspective from Japan*,<sup>2</sup> presents a detailed look at the internment at Hot Springs. Iguchi, born in 1930, was eleven years old and living in the Broadmoor Apartments on Connecticut Avenue near Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C., at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. His father was a high ranking official at the Japanese Embassy (and after the War Ambassador to Canada and later to the United States).

Iguchi demonstrates very clearly in this work that embassy personnel knew nothing of Japan's plans to attack Pearl Harbor. The plans were initiated in Tokyo by ranking members of the military and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and attempts by the government to shift blame to the supposed ineptitude of their staff in Washington for withholding the declaration until after the start of the attack at postwar trials of Japanese war criminals were



in fact groundless. They sent sections of a lengthy telegram that when sent in full would be Japan's Declaration of War against the U.S. late on the night of December 6, but fearful of losing the element of surprise, they delayed sending the final installment until later in the morning of December 7, a Sunday. Embassy workers were sent home to get some sleep in the early morning of December 7. Iguchi's father rushed off to the embassy when news of the final cable segment arrived.

Iguchi was playing football outside of the apartment when he heard news of the Pearl Harbor attack. The news was confirmed by his father who told his mother to keep their children indoors. Soon FBI agents appeared in the apartment hallway and placed all Japanese in the apartment complex under strict surveillance. They were forced to stay indoors and had little or no contact with the outside world. Iguchi remembers:

My mother and sister were beside themselves, saying, "Oh, this is awful. What are we going to do if Japan loses?" My sister Tatsuko seemed particularly distressed, and cried in a low, tense voice, "A small country like Japan hasn't a chance of winning against a gigantic country like the United States. Why in the world did they start this war?"

I was not immediately convinced that Japan would be defeated. Emboldened by the reports in the morning newspaper informing us that "with the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Navy has dealt a decisive blow to the United States Pacific Fleet," I fiercely countered my fearful mother and sister, announcing grandly, "Japan will never be defeated...." (6)

All Japanese personnel were forced to move immediately to the Embassy where they stayed until December 29, 1941, when the decision came to move them to the Homestead:

The American newspapers all carried big stories about the internment of the Japanese Embassy staff in "luxurious" quarters. The front page of the *Times Herald* ran a photo of my little brother and me struggling along with our suitcases behind my father as we prepared to board the bus leaving the embassy that made us look rather like Jews headed for a Nazi concentration camp.

Realizing that a war had just begun that pitted the United States and Japan against one another as mortal enemies made for a dark mood. As the snowy winter landscape of Virginia's forests and fields unfolded outside the train window, that dark mood grew even colder. (9)

The owner of the Homestead was a friend of President Roosevelt who had stayed there on occasion, so it was possible to persuade him to house the now homeless Japanese. Iguchi comments that the accommodations were luxurious and that the food was excellent, but they were forbidden to go outside or to even open a window. There were fears that local residents might attack them and that the Ku Klux Klan might target "this assembly of yellow enemy diplomats." (10)

Life was pleasant, but tension filled the air. When Iguchi's sister developed a toothache and was escorted by two FBI agents to a local dentist, she attempted to grab a magazine in the waiting room at which point the agents yelled at her to sit still. "This was a clear sign that the FBI agents, though saying they were there for our protection, were really our wardens. Our each and every move was under an almost pathological surveillance..." (11)

After two months of internal confinement, the Japanese were allowed outside to certain portions of the grounds, but the strong surveillance continued: It would appear that one of the reasons for the slight but perceptible loosening of the rigor of the surveillance was because the activities of the really nutty end of the spectrum of anti-Japanese organizations seemed to be running out of steam. (11)

Still there was little to do until March when two younger Japanese diplomats decided to start an informal Japanese school. The children were divided into three separate classes and received lessons all day long. There was a normal curriculum of subjects, but the students were also heavily indoctrinated. They heard sermons encouraging veneration for the divine emperor and pride in Japan's excellence as a nation whose highest authority derived from a line of emperors unbroken for ages. Iguchi admits that he was thoroughly brainwashed during his stay at the Homestead. "I came to believe that because the Yamato race was superior and Japan was a divine land, we could never be defeated by the Americans and the British, and that we were destined to become the leader of Asia." (12)

The adults had little to do other than play mahjong, billiards, and cards. Some of the more heavy drinkers routinely got drunk and often rowdy at the dining room. There were movies to watch and a swimming pool to relax in. Some Japanese there heard that many Japanese-Americans on the West Coast were being herded into concentration-camp settlements while they were living in luxury, but there was nothing that they could do about it.

There were also some German diplomatic staff and their families interned at the Homesteads as well, but although they were free to talk to each other, they did not communicate at all. In fact both communities stayed away from each other as much as possible, hardly acting like the allies they were supposed to be during the war.

Their stay at the Homestead came to an abrupt end on April 4, 1942, when the entire Japanese contingent was moved to the equally comfortable resort at the Greenbrier in West Virginia. They stayed there until June

18 when they were sent to New York and put on a Swedish steamer that would transport them back home. Their luxurious imprisonment at two of America's premier resorts was over.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>German and Italian diplomats were interned at the Ingleside Hotel in Staunton.

<sup>2</sup>Takeo Iguchi, *Demystifying Pearl Harbor: A New Perspective from Japan* (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2010). The book is an excellent objective and scholarly analysis of what led to the Pearl Harbor attack and who was responsible. Iguchi as an adult served as a Japanese ambassador and as a university professor including a stint as a Visiting Professor at the University of Virginia School of Law.

# Enduring Music: Migrant Appalachian Communities and the Shenandoah National Park

By Madeline Nell Marsh

*Editor's note: Madeline Marsh, an Augusta County resident, musician and recent graduate of James Madison University, wrote a paper as an undergraduate honors college project and a senior thesis. This is an abridged version of her paper.*

It was at university that I first learned of the forced migration of hundreds of families off these familiar mountains that comprise what is now the Shenandoah National Park. This research is an archival study of the displaced children of families formerly living in the park, which spans the Shenandoah Valley from Front Royal to Waynesboro, Virginia. The study looks at interviews from the James Madison University Special Collections archives of these children in the 1970s-80s, nearly fifty years after their forced migration from the nearly 200,000 acres that form the park. Change and pressure during the 1930s-40s combined with national policy began the nostalgic preservation and veneration of these people of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In efforts to document the region, an alarming amount of fictionalization and patronizing generalizations arose that perpetuated a myth of an isolated, Scots-Irish community 'untouched' by the outside world. The archive informants, however, reveal a clearer, diverse picture of the perspectives and lifestyles of the people before and after the park. Recently, scholars, and researchers, such as Sue Eisenfield, have performed amazing work in retelling the archived stories. Though I too am smitten with the stories saturating the archival accounts, my work approaches the region by applying literary analysis to the songs of these families. Through examining the lyrics of the music that the informants recall singing, my project explores the role lyrics served in sustaining this Appalachian community preceding and following their displacement. What is more, the variety of these songs studied reveals a non-insular, adaptive community that was certainly connected to a world beyond their mountains.

These lyrics function as a literature to the Blue Ridge people by preserving, changing, and adapting to the specific, localized culture and

histories of this region in oral accounts. Though literacy was limited in the mountains, oral tradition through song was alive and well, revealing a sophisticated people with a form of literature that developed and varied according to place, time, and culture. It is my hope, that through this study of the Blue Ridge area of Appalachia, the research will illuminate a diverse, rich, and localized culture that inspires a better understanding of the Blue Ridge mountain families. Despite the hardships of not only settling in the mountain regions of Virginia, but also in being forced out of them, the Blue Ridge people reflect a profound resilience and adaption. Throughout all of the challenges and changes of their history, one thing remains constant in the lives of the Blue Ridge communities: their enduring music.

### **Chapter 1: The History of the Shenandoah National Park**

*"If they'd left those people there, and let them farm and leave them just like they had been, it seems to me that that would have been more interesting to the tourists that came through, than just to not see anybody in it."*<sup>1</sup>

The Shenandoah National Park includes 197,438 acres of the Blue Ridge Mountains from Front Royal to Waynesboro, Virginia. My research focuses on this 311 square mile region of Appalachia and its surrounding areas. In telling the history of these peoples, historians use multiple terms to identify the same peoples that are said to have populated the mountains predominantly. These people are referred to as the Scotch-Irish, Scots-Irish, and Ulster-Scots. Despite the slight variation, the names that will be utilized at length throughout this chapter all refer to the same Scottish people who moved from Scotland to the north of Ireland in a region called Ulster, then from that place to North America. Though the history of these Scots-Irish people will be addressed in-depth, the many other settlers of the Shenandoah region will also be explored in an effort to lend a fuller and more accurate depiction of those who settled the Blue Ridge Mountains. Then the chapter will move into the establishment of the Shenandoah National Park and the wrenching displacement and subsequent re-settlement of these peoples who came to be known as the Blue Ridge 'mountaineers.' At this point, the stereotypes and generalizations of the 'isolation' of these people will be addressed with the historic presence of both the railroad and radio that penetrated the culture, and notably the music of those living in these mountains. Throughout the history of the settlement and forced migration of the Blue Ridge natives, a theme of diversity and connectedness to the outside world is present, confirming the complexity of these people.





"1937 Guide Map of Shenandoah National Park, Map, 1937," Document Bank of Virginia, accessed September 17, 2018, <http://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/items/show/170>.

## Settling the Region: Early Settlers

The original settlers of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Appalachia began their first of many journeys from Scotland to Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The name Scotch-Irish, relating their heritage, would come to distinguish them long after their migration to the Ulster area of Ireland and from there to the New World. The term Scots-Irish as this research will use it refers solely to a more or less homogenous groups of peoples who made two major migrations: first a move from western Scotland to the north of Ireland and then from Ireland to North America, where they populated the mountainous terrain from about Maryland to Georgia. The term Ulster Scots, however, will be employed to describe the people of the first migration from Scotland to Ireland, prior to their becoming Scots-Irish. This migration was incentivized by King James VI of Scotland when he gained the thrones of both England and Ireland from Queen Elizabeth I. To gain control over the “savage” and “unruly” Irish now under his dominion, he sent a mixture of English and Scots families to populate the area and garner loyalty to his authority.<sup>2</sup> James’s hope was that the families planted among the Irish would eventually convert the Catholic and Gaelic-speaking Irish to Protestantism, the English language, and by-default the authority of the Crown.

A series of small famines, a period of escalating rental costs for farmland, and continued discrimination in regard to educational and economic opportunities because of their association with the dissenting Presbyterian religion, caused a wave of migration of the Presbyterian Irish from the Ulster area into Pennsylvania starting in the early eighteenth century. That wave continued throughout the century and flowed naturally into Virginia’s Shenandoah Valley. The Great Famine of the nineteenth century brought a second wave of Irish, this time mostly Catholic and mostly from the other regions of Ireland, into America including the Shenandoah Valley.

The eighteenth-century Ulster-Scots originally settled in Pennsylvania and then migrated down the Great Wagon Road and populated the Shenandoah Valley. The land in the Upper Shenandoah Valley that was settled by these migrants would become known as the Irish Tract. Matthew McKee in his piece, “‘A Peculiar and Royal Race’: Creating a Scotch-Irish Identity, 1889-1901” focuses on the more hilly-billy connotations of the term Scots-Irish, as he aptly describes the common Appalachian identity as follows:

Late nineteenth century creators of the image of southern Appalachian identity portrayed its inhabitants in both negative and positive forms and often accorded them a Scotch-Irish heritage. Commonly held to be the

dominant ethnic group, they were portrayed at one extreme as feuding, moonshine drinking, in-bred hillbillies, or, at the other end of the scale, as independent, buckskin-clad frontiersmen. While both portrayals ran concurrently, the positive image tended to be associated with the past, whereas the negative stereotype dominated the discourse in the 1890s.<sup>3</sup>

To homogenize the 'Scots-Irish' to one specific type of people is to overlook the diversity that is the Scots-Irish culture. In colorful miscellany, the Scots-Irish populated the area of the Shenandoah Valley and the mountains on either side, with a sweeping scope from Presbyterian ministers<sup>4</sup> in the Valley areas to farmers and tanners. This complex cultural identity of the Scots-Irish aids in comprehending why the music of the region, correspondingly, was varied.

What is more, there is an extensive influence and settling of many ethnic identities besides that of the Scots-Irish, which include Germanic families, Native Americans, and African-Americans. In fact as early as 1731, Joist Hite purchased from land proprietor Lord Fairfax, a 10,000-acre tract in the Lower Valley that he settled with both German-speaking persons from Europe and Scots-Irish homesteaders under the leadership of Robert McKay.<sup>5</sup> The newfound partners managed to purchase another 70,000 acres that they agreed to split so that the Scots-Irish would settle in the eastern half from Winchester to Luray while the Germans would settle Winchester to Strasburg. The Blue Ridge Mountains of the Shenandoah National Park actually span both of these regions.<sup>6</sup>

For all of the diligent documentation that exists on the first European settlers, there is only a small knowledge of the African-American population within the Shenandoah, though the population was very much present. Although there was a small population of free blacks from the earliest settlement, very quickly the Shenandoah Valley became a slave society that offered little opportunity for freedom or equality of any sort. Shenandoah Valley counties bordering what became the Shenandoah National Park, counted populations of enslaved peoples in the 1860 census from nearly fifty percent (Clarke County) to just under six percent (Shenandoah County), but all were firmly entrenched in the system as slave societies.

From the earliest settlement, the African-American population continued to grow, most in slavery, though a handful were free as is documented by the Virginia General Assembly.<sup>7</sup> Though the presence of African Americans in the mountains themselves was small and there was minimal interaction between white families and free and enslaved African Americans when they would come off the mountain or interact in sales, as is recorded by the archivist informants.

## Early Settlers: Education and Land Acquisition

In the Shenandoah region, education and land ownership belonged to wealthy land-owners, not the actual inhabitants of the mountains. Darwin Lambert's, *The Undying Past of Shenandoah National Park*, shows the monopoly on land ownership of "piedmont and valley planters, farmers, and businessmen from the beginning of the white [European settler] era."<sup>8</sup> Many of the wealthier Valley farmers owned large tracts of mountain land in both the Allegheny and Blue Ridge Mountains. The forested hills were dotted with openings, called balds, some naturally occurring and some kept open through fire first by the Native Americans and later by the settlers. Large herds of cattle were driven from the Valley floor in the spring time and allowed to roam freely in the mountains during the summer, grazing on the vegetation in the balds in the Blue Ridge Mountains. These grazing practices, which were adapted from similar practices in Ireland, protected the grain fields of the Valley from livestock depredation. Cattle thrived in the coolness of the mountains and ate the lush grasses growing there. In the fall, the cattle were driven back down the mountains, but hogs were often driven up in order to be fattened on the acorns and chestnut that grew in abundance in the mountains. Tenant farm families often lived on the mountain land and had working arrangements with the absentee landowners. The tenant families would watch the cattle, providing salt and protection from bears. They would also sell their fruits and vegetables grown on the mountain land to those who lived in the Valley. One example of how this relationship played out comes from the Dark Hollow area of what is now the park. Here the cattle would graze and the tenants would tend to the cattle assiduously, though no formal agreement existed.<sup>9</sup> Without this formal agreement, the landholders maintained a non-obligatory position with the tenants that allowed them to benefit from tenant work-efforts.

As has been noted, however, there was a great diversity in the way the Scots-Irish culture played out in the region. Contrast, for instance, the somewhat isolated mountain tenant farmers with the Presbyterian ministers of the region. The men of the cloth were esteemed in the Shenandoah Valley and Blue Ridge. They were often put into positions to that allowed them to increase their own economic success and social status.<sup>10</sup> Nancy T. Sorrells and Katharine L. Brown in their piece, "Presbyterian Pathways to Power: Networking, Gentrification and the Scotch-Irish Heritage among Virginia Presbyterian Ministers, 1760-1860," state that "During that first century of Presbyterianism in Virginia, ministers who were initially religious leaders

of modest dissenting frontier farmers, became substantial landholders and often slaveholders.”<sup>11</sup> A deep respect for the education of the ministers also placed them in positions of power regarding education. The intermingling of these factors all worked to sway the balances of wealth, education, and power to those who did not live on the mountains, and ensure a sense of limited agency to the residents of the mountains themselves.

### **Settling the Region: Later Waves of Mountain Migrants**

After the first settlement, another wave of migrants came to the mountains, many of whom sought relief from the conscription of the American Revolution and the Civil War. Though the Blue Ridge was slightly more isolated from the direct warfare in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War brought the fighting directly to Swift Run Gap of the park area and many other regions.<sup>12</sup> The missing men of the Shenandoah region who fled to the mountains to escape fighting in those wars are documented well by the Dayton Heritage Museum in Dayton, Virginia. Amidst the upset of the wars, it was not uncommon for people to flee deeper into the remote regions of the mountains to avoid the conflict.

James Burner, a former resident of the area of the Shenandoah National Park, speaks of the populating of the mountains to flee war, and the subsequent origins of his own family. Upon being asked about the origins of his family, Burner speaks to the population of the mountains in the following interview:

Well some of them originated right from colonial people. Most of them lived back in the mountains for several reasons. I think possibly the most of them was during the Civil War - era - that some of them were just plain draft dodgers. They didn't want to be conscripted... They moved back in the mountains. They hid out. Some of them went back in there for trouble reasons. Some of these names, now - if you look back to even the signing of the Constitution of the United States - these names, now are right there... They had good names and a lot of 'em had good beginnings. The Deaverses and the Corbins and Dodsons - all those - they go on back now to early colonial times. But these were people that got in trouble or wanted to get away. They liked the wilderness. They didn't wanna live in towns. They didn't like -maybe they had brushes with the law.. A lot of 'em were runners... for one reason or the other... because they couldn't have picked that type of life from - but after a generation or two, it became a way of life. That's the way I look at it... And then they are young and they weren't happy. And they wanted to go back. Now, you won't find a one of them now that's not proud of that—of being a mountaineer.

Burner's commentary regarding the populating of the mountains and the fleeting shame of being a 'runner,' that became enveloped in a larger identity that was one to be proud of—to be a mountaineer—is essential to understanding the Blue Ridge people's conceptions of themselves. The



background of those living on the Blue Ridge faded in light of the new identity of being mountaineers. This conceptualization of self reaches into the songs sung by this society, which created their own culture, infused with a diverse range of backgrounds.

### **The New Deal: Building a Park**

After centuries of a lifestyle on these mountains, the identity of the mountaineer was broken by the implementation of the Shenandoah National Park, which successfully moved men and women off the mountain and forced them to redefine themselves. In the 1920s, a deep interest in building a park on the land began from the Federal Government that described the land as a “450,000 acre vacation paradise almost at your door, which you can leave as a heritage to your children and your children’s children, is worth even more, and is a challenge to every American who wants to enrich the future of his country.”<sup>13</sup> Concurrent with such glorifying descriptions of the land, the government also described the ‘mountaineers’ as an irresponsible people who did not value or care for the land properly. Many accounts spoke of the people of the mountains as an impoverished people, “irresponsible, untaught, untrained, often non-law abiding, unfitted to meet the competition of modern life.”<sup>14</sup> Charles and Nancy Purdue in their work, *Appalachian Fables and Facts: A Case Study of the Shenandoah National Park*, refer to these stereotypes and generalizations about the natives as “culture-trait fable.”<sup>15</sup> It was this fable, however, that made it possible for the people of the Blue Ridge to be considered dispensable and irrelevant in the grander picture of a national park.

A profound collection of letters of families being forcibly displaced from the mountains is captured in the book, *Answer At Once*, which truly describes the attitudes of these mountain peoples toward the horrors of their forced expulsion from the Blue Ridge Mountains. These letters are stored in Luray, Virginia. In order to build the park, the Commonwealth of Virginia Public Park Condemnation Act of 1928 was enacted, acquiring three thousand tracts of land from “condemned” homes of nearly five hundred families.<sup>16</sup> The collection brilliantly uses the voices of the actual displaced families to tell their own stories. The letters take the form of complaints, pleas, and requests at the hands of park officials over the ten years or so of the final implementation of forcing all families out of the park. The letters vary in literacy and eloquence, but speak for themselves to the literacy among the residents.

Archive informant Howard Lam, who lived near Jollett Hollow of

the park region, explains his own and his neighbors understandings and misunderstandings about the move in his interview, showing the confusion in and resistance from these families. He speaks of his initial understanding of the park saying, "I understood, that when they [the Government] first started that, they told them nobody would have to move. And then later on, after they got the land, then they started to."<sup>17</sup> He goes on to hedge that part of the reason that some residents consented to land-selling was the possibility of work. Lam tells of the resistance of a Mrs. Jenkins of the Jenkins family whom pictures document her being physically forced, by being carried, out of the house and put into a car.<sup>18</sup> There were confusions, broken promises, and force.

Once relocated, many of these families would be brought to "resettlement projects" such as a one just outside the park boundary that boasted twenty-eight farms and homesteads.<sup>19</sup> Many people were also placed in "welfare-purchased houses" with minimal rent. That being said, of the total homesteads created, they only absorbed 172 families of the 465 recorded in 1934.<sup>20</sup>

During and after this relocation, these families were placed into New Deal public works projects like the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) and the building of Skyline Drive; it is through these programs that the families adjusted to their new, estranged life off of the mountains. These CCC camps combined 'mountain boys' with 'city boys' but they each shared a "shortage of money made worse by the nationwide depression" which Darwin Lambert in *The Undying Past of Shenandoah National Park* claims to be the common-bond of the men.<sup>21</sup> Through these work programs, many of the young men would end up building the Skyline Drive through the very mountains that were once their homes.

At the time of the New Deal and the park's implementation, the way of life of the peoples of the park was immediately uprooted. Where once gradual and natural change was occurring in their culture and music, suddenly the most drastic change threatened to uproot all that these people had known as familiar. Their history was under threat of annihilation, just as their homes had been, and its only preservation was worded in the songs as their literature. After the 1930s, a surge in scholarship and literature about and from Appalachia begins accordingly. People scrambled to place the history of Appalachia in more than a malleable song. What came out of these efforts was often a romanticized and idealized picture of Appalachia.

## **A Connected Region**

Essential parts of this history, which further discredits the isolationist, uneducated myth of the Blue Ridge people, were the two major feats of modern technology that connected the former residents of the park, with the outside world: the railroad and the radio. These two technologies should truly be described as incentives of creativity in Appalachian music, because they brought with them people with songs to share. The arrival of the railroads in Virginia through the Carolinas created an interconnection of stories, peoples, and music of a variety of cultural backgrounds. The C&O Railroad created in the 1850s connected the Blue Ridge region of Appalachia to the 'outside' world. Songs were able to spread at a rapid pace as the railway brought visitors from all over the country through the mountains of Virginia.

In addition to the railroad in the nineteenth century, the invention of the radio in the twentieth century heavily contributed musical repertoire of the people of the Blue Ridge; this variety of new tunes in combination with the old, shows the region to be far less isolated in its exposure or interaction with the outside world. The literature of music again shows the Shenandoah National Park peoples to be far more advanced than they were credited with being. Scott Hamilton Suter in his book, *Shenandoah Valley Folklife*, tells of the Saturday night gatherings of musicians to listen to the Grand Ole Opry on station WSM.<sup>22</sup> Presently, we would say these tunes have "become traditional in the valley" because they have been passed down from the point of their first debut, through generations.<sup>23</sup> Non-local music was introduced via the radio and those tunes would carry-on into and form into the lives of the Blue Ridge people.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the history of the settlers and former inhabitants of the Shenandoah National Park reveals richly diverse population and lays to rest many of the misconceptions of the isolationist myth of the Blue Ridge Mountains as well as the fables of the mountaineer stereotype discussed. It is with great anticipation that the music of the people of the Blue Ridge will be explored in the following chapters, revealing these multifaceted, varying influences upon these people. Their literature—balladry—will speak volumes of an identity entirely singular to the people of the Blue Ridge.

## **Chapter 2: Balladry**

### **“As old as hills” (Yager 39)**

#### **History of Balladry and the Blue Ridge**

Rooted in one of the earliest traditions of storytelling, the oral tradition of balladry naturally continued from the Scots-Irish in Ulster into the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Virginia Folk-Lore Society collected ballads throughout the state with a particular focus on collections from James Childs as well as Cecil Sharp.<sup>24</sup> Their musicological research sought to connect the music to its European ancestry.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, this narrow focus tends to miss the variety and the deviation in the multiple versions of the ballads and the importance of newer ballads to the region. The ballads, many of stories of displacement and of lovers, carry into the musical repertoire of the families of the Shenandoah National Park, but the songs are created, adapted, and modified according to this specific locale.

What the musical collections of the people of the Blue Ridge exemplifies is great variety, with an undoubtedly Scots-Irish background. There was certainly an English presence in the area as well, as exemplified by Edward Nicholson Jr. who attests that his family first arrived in the area in 1715, settling at the ‘foot of the mountain.’<sup>26</sup> However, the advent of the radio as well as the prominence of the railroad, markedly influenced the songs of the peoples of the Blue Ridge. These influences came from a number of backgrounds, which will be discussed in future chapters; the fresh music introduced into the Blue Ridge Mountains that will be discussed in the chapter, however, are of a more country-influence from the Grand Ole Opry radio station. As the remembered ballads of archive informants Mattie Yager, Arlene Carr Abel, Edward Scott, and Paul Harris will show, however, there was a great variance in the types of ballads sung beyond the recorded British and Irish repertoire. These informants reveal a loose succession of influences from that of Anglo-Scots to the early country of ‘modern’ American mountain folk.

#### **II. “Bury Me under the Weeping Willow Tree”**

Beginning this study of the variety of balladry found in the music memory of the people of the Blue Ridge, is a song identified by former park native, Mattie Yager. Mattie, who was raised near Old Rag Mountain in Madison County, identifies “Bury Me under the Weeping Willow” as one of the songs familiar to her. This ballad is an excellent example with Scots-Irish motifs, but it is also adapted to the local context of the mountains. In her interview, Mattie plays the melody to this ballad that she states was

“as old as hills” on an autoharp.<sup>27</sup> Recorded by the famous Carter family of Virginia in 1927, the song is written as a first-person narrative about a woman whose lover jilts her the day before their wedding. Though a lover’s lament is far from a unique theme to folk balladry, the influence of the Americana ‘native’ style of balladry in the song is apparent, because the song follows a first-person and sentimental, or personal, narrative.<sup>28</sup> Connecting this song to its English and Scottish roots, however, is the motif of the ‘willow’ itself. Allisoun Gardner-Medwin in her piece, “The ‘Willow’ Motif in Folksongs in Britain and Appalachia,” underscores the prominence of the willow as a symbol “for sorrow, specifically for lost love,” of jilted-lover from sixteenth century England and Scotland through the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

The chorus reads as follows:

*Oh, bury me under the weeping willow tree*

*Yes, under the weeping willow tree*

*So he may know where I am sleeping*

*And perhaps he will weep for me. (Carter Family)*

The elucidating knowledge of this motif of the ‘willow’ explains the narrator’s motive in desiring to be buried beneath this specific tree as well as why this song remained popular to the folk of the Blue Ridge. In lamenting her heartbreak, the narrator states that her ex-lover would know where to find her if she lay beneath a weeping willow tree as she assumes he too would know the symbolism of a weeping willow. Additionally, it would align well with the history of the Scots-Irish settlement in the Shenandoah National Park area that the Scottish/English concept of the ‘willow’ would continue to retain its meaning and popularity with the former residents of the park like Yager. Though the ballad style may change, the centuries-old motif did not, which lends a beautiful combination of American folk with its roots in Appalachia.

### **III. “Going Across the Mountain” by Frank Proffitt**

Another example of a popular folk ballad of the Blue Ridge, “Going Across the Mountain,” does not utilize the familiar Scots-Irish motifs but rather relates the migration of a mountain man who leaves his home to fight in the Civil War. Recalled by former native of Sugar Hollow, Arlene Carr Abel, this song is remarkable for the connection it reveals between the people of the mountain and the outside world. The ballad relates the farewell of a soldier joining in arms with the Union in fighting against the Confederacy during the Civil War (1861-65). In the story of the ballad, the



protagonist leaves his home and love in the mountains, but vows to return to her after the war. The famous folk musician Pete Seeger (1919-2014), who journeyed around America with his famed "Seeger banjo" also recorded a version of "Going Across the Mountain" that can still be accessed today.<sup>30</sup> This song defies the misleading assumption on the part of Appalachia-romantics as well as that of the national government that laid claim on the land in-part because of the 'backwards' and 'disconnected' ways of these people. "Going Across the Mountain," written by Frank Proffitt in the early 1920s, describes his grandfather's experience of leaving his mountain home to fight for the Union.

There are several elements that make this ballad of migration distinctly local to Appalachia, as it provides an example of how balladry morphed as times changed in Appalachia and discussed the more contemporary and relevant histories and experiences of natives. First, instead of crossing oceans into the New World, the more contemporary narrators of folksong were crossing mountains into a world with which they had some meager connections. Second, the fourth line of the first verse identifies the time period because the narrator says, "Going across the mountain/You can hear my banjo tell" (3-4) which alerts the listener that a banjo is being played, which was a distinctly American-made instrument from African-Americans who brought the instrument's concept to America in the 1740s. It is also apparent that the narrator is joining the Union side because of his reference to the "boys in blue" as well as his pledge to "give old Jeff's men/ A little of my rifle ball" (15-16) in speaking of Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy. This song thus reflects a particularly local account of Appalachia, though it is inconsistent with the usual assumptions about the area. This account moves well beyond the Scots-Irish roots of the area.

#### **IV. "When It's Lamplighting Time in the Valley"**

During the time more contemporary to the dislocation of Shenandoah Park families, Edward Scott, a non-native to the mountains who served in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), identifies a song he would have learned from the 'mountain peoples' called "Lamplighting Time in the Valley."<sup>31</sup> Edward's experience is fascinating as he claims, "I had never seen a mountain until I left home." He identifies the deliberate segregation of the mountain folk who helped build Skyline Drive through what once was their homeland. He claims that they had a barracks to themselves and there was little integration. He learned "Lamplighting in the Valley" from them and that the tune originally came from 'a little radio program'

in Harrisonburg.<sup>32</sup> This bit of information illuminates the infiltration of the radio and its definition as to what was mountain music, followed by the mountain folk claiming it as their own. A natural question arises then: why would these people claim a 1930s early country song as their own? It seems that the answer is that the fatalist view of the future and inaccessible dream of what once was in the song would resonate well with those forcibly removed from their former way of life that essentially becomes a dream in the dark reality of their uncertain futures off the mountain.

In understanding the question of the function of “Lamplighting” as a song in the lives of the people of the Blue Ridge Mountain, it useful to keep in mind Edward Comentale’s commentary in his essay, “‘Thought I Had Your Heart Forever’ or the Modernity of Early County Music.” Comentale defines early country music as “a specifically modern form, emphasizing a distinctively modern detachment...that increasingly informs its musical production and reception in the twentieth century.”<sup>33</sup> He presents the genre of early country music as one that is a fragmented new version of the livelihoods of people in which “the family, the farm, the fiddle, the landscape itself—appears loosed from foundations.”<sup>34</sup> The context of songs like “Lamplighting” shows the fragmentation of the family and separation of man from his cabin home (line 1). The first person narrator never discloses the “crime” (18) that caused him to “sin against [his] home and [his] loved ones” (15) that he should pay penitence on this earth to “evermore roam” (16). A ‘lamp’ burns “bright in a cabin” somewhere but the narrator is never able to return home. The narrator claims that only “in dreams I go back to my home” (6) and eventually he shall “change all my ways and I’ll meet her / Up in Heaven when life’s race is run.” (19-20) The narrator is removed from home and familial ties and even the valley landscape itself. This song addresses well the same changes those in the Blue Ridge were facing. In their eviction from their mountain homes into modernity, the old way of life was irreparably altered.

In minding this unstoppable change and uncertain future for the rural person, country music seems to be acutely self-aware, if not altogether self-conscious, that the former rural way of life has passed. The Vagabonds’ hit responds to the new materialism of the time—one to which the people of the Blue Ridge were subjected.<sup>35</sup> In “Lamplighting” as in many of these early country songs, everything has already been broken and/or fallen. The despondent perspective of the narrator is one that speaks from a crime already committed to a family from which he has already broken.

His hopes and dreams are irreconcilable to his present situation and he “never can go [home]” (12). The home is abstract and only accessible to the narrator through ‘dreams.’ (6).

Considering the implications and literary significance of “Lamp-lighting,” the meaning of the ballad concurs with the adoption of it by the former residents of the Blue Ridge working alongside Edward Scott and the other men of the CCC. When these men had been separated from their cabin homes, families, and former way of life, this song would resonate with the idea of a past that can never be revived, one remaining in a dreamlike state. Scott’s recollection of the song shows the receptiveness of the Blue Ridge people to outside music as well as their adaptation of the music to their own lives.

#### **V. “The Blue Ridge Mountaineer”**

Though “Lamp-lighting” more vaguely relates to the Blue Ridge person’s experience of exile, the song “The Blue Ridge Mountaineer” profoundly captures the peoples’ reaction to their forced displacement. Additionally, a poignant difference exists in the reaction from the father to his son regarding migration. Archive informant Paul Harris, who grew up on his family’s sixty-three-acre mountain place, records the song written by his father, Edward A. Harris, called “The Blue Ridge Mountaineer.”<sup>36</sup> The verses recount Harris’s experience in the “Blue Ridge hills” (1) and the way in which his land was taken from him. Each verse consists of four lines, which end with the refrain “But now I’m down in this low land/ Where the water is warm and land’s all poor.”<sup>37</sup>

Prior to moving off the land, the Harris family helped look after the cattle of “Valley farmers” who grazed between seventy-five to one hundred cattle per farm on the nutrient-rich blue grass found in the mountains.<sup>38</sup> Paul Harris recalls raising large amounts of cabbage and potatoes that they would haul to sell beyond the mountain. The farm was well-outfitted as well with a spring house, hen house, stables, and the like.<sup>39</sup> It was this lifestyle that Paul’s father recounts in his song:

*I have a good spring and a spring house combined.*

*I hate to go and leave it behind.*

*I have a good orchard and lots of good fruit.*

*I often watch my big hogs root. (17-20)*

After Harris’s father spends the first several verses fondly describing his former home’s agricultural landscape, he then speaks of his subsequent forced removal from the land. Part of this scenery of his home that Harris’s father describes are “the whippoorwills” (2), “the lightnin’ [that]



*Paul Harris*

gave such a beautiful sight”(3), and “where the wildcats hopped from rock to rock”(8). He claims he “lived up there as happy as could be”(9), until “one cold dark evening about four o’clock/ On my front door I heard a knock”(11-12). This ‘knock’ brings “government people with papers, in their hands/ saying “Old man, we have taken your land”(13-14). He also compares the bountiful harvests of crops, such as potatoes, to the meager yields in the ‘low land’ of potatoes “so little I ate them skin and all” (28). From this point, the narrator (Harris’s father) copes with his displacement from those mountains he loved so well, saying:

*My wife and dear children stand by my side.*

*Now we are trusting our Savior to send us a guide.*

*But come, dear children, don’t grieve and cry,*

*God will prepare a home for you and I. (17-20)*

In these lines, the home God 'prepared' has a dual meaning, of both being a physical home after the family's relocation, but also a heavenly home to look forward to. Similar to "Lamplighting," this ballad hopes in an eternal home after a separation from home in the physical world renders a homecoming impossible. Lastly, the narrator laments the family and home he left behind, despite his impoverished conditions in a "tumble down shack"(45). He concludes the song with the following six lines:

*I tho't of my dear old mother I was forced to leave behind.*

*I tho't of my dear old father, who to me was so kind.*

*I tho't of my old mountain home which I loved so well.*

*My feelings at the moment no human tongue could tell.*

*Oh I would like to be back in my tumble down shack,  
where the wild roses bloomed 'round my door. (40-46)*

Despite his father's sadness at leaving the mountains, Paul Harris's attitude toward the family's move proves to be far more positive. In recounting the migration, his response is shockingly negative about his family's former lifestyle in the mountains and seems to view the move as a necessary progression for his family. He states:

But the park treated my dad...I think they treated my dad fair enough. Cause they gave him a decent price for his home. It likely killed him, but after all we family didn't mind, because we wanted to get out anyhow. And the next question, if we hadn't got out, we'd all been just as dumb as could because we couldn't learn nothing up there. And after we got in this family meeting decent people, business people, working with them and working for them, why we got to learning what we do. We didn't learn it back there in the hills. You didn't learn nothing back there...you wasn't much more than an animal.<sup>40</sup>

The analogy Paul Harris makes, likening his experience in the mountain to that of an animal, is jarring in comparison with his father's romantic love for his mountain heritage; these incongruent accounts of a proud 'mountaineer' and his son show the variance of experience in the mountains particularly after displacement. There is not a common narrative from former park-inhabitants of wishing to be back in the mountains, though those narratives do occur. Instead, there can be a son with an acknowledgment for his father's love of the land but ultimately a sharply different perspective on his new situation. One man harbors far less of an attachment to his home in 'the hills' than the other, and perhaps for the heritage that the mountains contain.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Upon understanding the contemporary nature of these ballads sung



by archive informants, one may be discouraged at the loss—the loss of heritage, of ‘pure’ Scots/Irish/English balladry, and even the loss of history. It is true. However, the oral tradition is never static. Born in the custom of the oral tradition is an incessant oceanic surging of lyrics and songs that morph and churn in a constant state of change. Certain motifs and themes, such as the use of a ‘willow’ to denote a forlorn lover, remain, but the content is altered. If balladry truly serves its intended purpose as a literature to the lives of these people, then its re-imaginings and new forms make sense in the context that the Blue Ridge people’s lives had changed drastically in not only their migration from the forest but also in the wars and advancement of technologies propelling them into the twentieth century.

As Fionna Ritchie, author of *Wayfaring Strangers: The Musical Voyage from Scotland and Ulster to Appalachia*, describes the emergence and popularity of these ballads ‘native to America’, she states:

The native ballads tend to be more topical, based on dramatic events in living memory, such as murders, battles, explorations, adventurous occupations, and colorful local incidents. They are more subjective, sentimental, and personal than the older child ballads and frequently have a first-person narrative, concluding with a moral to the story.<sup>41</sup>

The new songs of popularity, arising around the 1920s-30s, such as “Lamp Lighting Time in the Valley” and “The Blue Ridge Mountaineer,” are naturally a better representation and literature for the lives of the people of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Over time an appreciation for the Anglo-Saxon roots of Appalachian music declined and in its place arose an admiration for this music as a creation of the “common man.”<sup>42</sup> The “common man” function and purpose of Appalachian balladry, reflecting contemporary and evolving concerns, would of course necessitate a shift in subject matter and lyric because of the changing landscape and culture all around the mountain natives.

### **Chapter 3: Minstrelsy in the Blue Ridge Mountains**

*“My daddy, he played the banjo...After he died, we still had a banjo.”<sup>43</sup>*

The musical literature of the people of the Blue Ridge Mountains was not homogenous, neither before nor after the advent of the radio when more modern folk songs were being introduced to Appalachian audiences. There exists a comprehensive variety of song that indicates the sophistication and at least somewhat culturally informed state of this particular mountain society, despite the stereotypes of its being insular. This variance and diversity, which moves well beyond the constraints of a well-preserved time capsule of Scots-Irish and English heritage, is propounded by the

deeply ambivalent convention of minstrelsy. In fact, the propensity of historians of the nineteenth century to promote a myth of Appalachia as timeless place is an example of 'local color fiction'.<sup>44</sup> As it was briefly discussed in the former chapter in the ballad, "Going Across the Mountain," the banjo itself is not a creation of white but rather an instrument brought to the Americas by Africans in the 1700s and later recreated by a former slave. Ultimately though, it would be a white minstrel by the name of Joel Walker Sweeney who would popularize the five-string banjo. Sweeney of the Virginia Minstrels serves as an example of the theft of culture and heritage that was minstrelsy and ultimately left an enormous redesign upon old-time, mountain music as we know it today. Though there is a plethora of minstrel songs identified by the Shenandoah archive informants, this chapter will focus on two highly popular songs called "Golden Slippers" and "Old Dan Tucker." Each song does well to indicate the prominence and resonance of the particular songs to the peoples of the Blue Ridge Mountains, as well as to supply a range of points of view of minstrelsy. To understand the function of the narrative of these songs, is to better understand the lives and perceptions of these informants who include Elzie Cave, Nettie Breeden Lang, James Burner, Arlene Carr Abel, and Virginia and Robert Kenney.

### **Local Color Fiction**

Before the history of minstrelsy as well as the content of the songs sung in Blue Ridge can be covered, it is first important to understand the literary genre of local color fiction and the way in which it specifically functions for the histories of those in the Shenandoah region. "Local color fiction" is a term used to define a region's uniqueness, by its defined characteristics, which at the same time marginalizes and/or overlooks the variety of ethnicities and backgrounds in a region.<sup>45</sup> So, in defining the 'unique' characteristics of a region, the historians homogenize the culture and the variety of music that characterized it. This in turn limits the understanding of the literature—and the music. The term is useful to this research because it acknowledges that the 'white' Scots-Irish history is not the only history of the region. Rather, the Scots-Irish music has benefitted from many styles, all melded together in the distinctive playing and Appalachian culture of the Blue Ridge Mountains. One of these prominent styles is that which originated in the tradition of minstrelsy. As the archive informants list numerous songs that can be traced back to minstrels, there is no question that more than a Scots-Irish music culture dominated the lives of these people.

In fact, the function of 'local color fiction' not only stands for ethnicity but also relates to the overall fictionalized stereotypes of Appalachia and is a disservice to the society of the Blue Ridge. Katie Algeo in her essay, "Locals on Color: Imagining Identity in Appalachia," speaks to the pervasive stereotyping that transpired toward Appalachia and the natives' inability to control it. The genre of local color fiction had a profound and lasting effect on the definition of the Appalachian region.<sup>46</sup> The characteristics of Appalachia that historians, scholars, and musicologists use to define it present the 'otherness' of the region and its 'backward' ways. By 1880, the 'southern mountaineer' was defined as that of a "fierce and uncouth race."<sup>47</sup> Algeo captures the effect of local color writing well in her statement, "representations of culture in local-color writings also tend to focus on cultural survivals such as log cabins and vernacular dialect, contributing to the sense of a cultural stasis and underplaying the diversity present in Appalachia."<sup>48</sup> Of course, this stereotype was inaccurate as we now know of the mix of piedmont planters, Germans, English, Native Americans, and many others who inhabited and tamed the area of the National Park. The prevalence of minstrel song in the remembered music of park families is important not only in the fact that it shows the regular movements of people and exchange of cultures and stories through song within a vast expanse of the country, but also in that it shows the relevance of the songs to the people of the Blue Ridge. Thus, the reverence for and veneration of these songs breaks down the otherness inherent in the misleading local color fiction of both Appalachia and of African-Americans in the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries.

### **History of the Minstrels**

In order to understand what is both despicable and heartening about the popular entertainment of minstrelsy, it is imperative to understand the roots of the minstrel shows and what inspired them—that which they stole.<sup>49</sup> The spirituals, tales, folk ballads, and the banjo, all of which are generally associated with caucasian Appalachian peoples of European descent, actually originated with and belonged to African Americans. Though it is unclear exactly how the blackface minstrelsy began, the performers seem to have been inspired by the popularity of New York's first black theater company founded in the early 1820s. The African Grove theatre gained popularity and performed many original pieces and produced even international recognition for some of their performers.<sup>50</sup> In the 1840s, both white and black "troupes" of minstrels emerged. The blackface minstrels

were white men who had exposure to African-American music and then covered their faces with black cork soot, singing the songs they picked up often in an exaggerated dialect and playing the banjo.<sup>51</sup> The songs, such as "Darling Nellie Gray," "Golden Slippers," "Old Dan Tucker," and many more, gained high popularity with white audiences and the songs played at these traveling performances would be absorbed into the musical repertoire of the communities they reached.

In Dan Stein's piece, "'A happy go lucky sort of type of fellow' The Productive Ambiguities of Minstrel Sounding," he argues that this popularizing of African-American culture through minstrelsy by white performers to white audiences marks the beginning of the commercialization and "primary paradigms for the whole enterprise recognized now as the popular culture industry."<sup>52</sup> Not only the songs, but also the instrument of the banjo, used to play songs was of course of African origin. The banjo was considered a "black folk instrument"<sup>53</sup> into early twentieth century, until the advent of minstrels adapted and presented the instrument to larger audiences. It was minstrel Joe Walker Sweeney of the Virginia Minstrels who 'popularized' the banjo to the wider audiences. Confirming the expectation that the Appalachian peoples first were introduced to the banjo through minstrelsy, Robert Winnans in his research, "The Folk, the Stage, and the Five-String Banjo in the Nineteenth Century," found that the earliest mountain folk style of banjo playing was "essentially identical to the early minstrel style."<sup>54</sup>

### **"Old Dan Tucker"**

"Old Dan Tucker," popularized by minstrel Daniel D. Emmett of the Virginia Minstrels, is a prime example of a piece from the blackface minstrelsy. Archive informants Mr. and Mrs. Elzie Cave as well as Nettie Breeden Lang, who were all from Dark Hollow prior to the establishment of the park, recall this as a ballad known to and played by them. Though the exact date and place of the song's origin is unknown, it was spread by the Virginia Minstrels and Daniel D. Emmett, who laid claim to the tune. As Curtis Owens, a scholar of folklore, suggests however, "Old Dan Tucker" is a song that extends much beyond Daniel D. Emmett the self-proclaimed writer, even though the song is thought to have been in existence long before he published the lyrics under his name.<sup>55</sup> Emmett's personal perpetuation of the tune of course carried much of the typical connotations of the minstrelsy in the jarring imitation and caricatures of African-Americans and the use of exaggerated dialect often in reciting the lyrics.<sup>56</sup> This song

appears everywhere from the Carolinas to Ohio with many added lyrics and versions. Part of the reason for this spread is the traveling nature of the minstrels; one could almost consider the songs planted in whatever soil at which they arrived and once there, they take root and adapt accordingly to the place and culture of wherever they are. At least it is this nature of growing that seems to have occurred in Dark Hollow for the informants who carried these songs with them. The following analysis, particularly in keeping in mind that the impression and connotations of the blackface minstrels who first brought it would fade over time, may help in understanding why the Caves and Langs would remember them.

From even the first listen or read, the ballad of “Old Dan Tucker” presents a disturbing scene in its repeated refrain which reads as follows:

*Get out the way old Dan Tucker*

*You’re too late to git your supper*

*Supper’s gone and dinner cookin’*

*Old Dan Tucker’s just a-standin there lookin’*<sup>57</sup>

This refrain places the person of Old Dan alone, outside the home, hungrily staring in at a dinner being cooked, and being commanded to leave the premises. In the context of this song and time-period, “supper” would mean lunch, which is significant in that it means Old Dan not only missed the time-frame to have lunch, but also is excluded from the largest, most important meal of the day, dinner. He is rejected from the society and his “otherness” is presented constantly throughout the song; he is dirty, ‘backwards’, silly, and unable to fall into the time and life patterns of society. Because of his inability and these blatant distinctions that make him a pariah to regular civilization, the constant refrain is “Get out of the way” as if he is blocking some sort of progression to the town “just a-standin’ there lookin.’”

Old Dan assumes a number of the aforementioned idiosyncratic characteristics throughout the progression of the song that seem to account for why this narrator and the town ostracize him. First, we know he is grubby and ‘backward’ when we are told that he “washed his face in a frying pan” and “combed his hair with a wagon wheel” (2-3). So as the first reason of otherness, this man is not welcomed in the home because he is dirty. Next, we are told of his rustic, mountain entrance that sounds oddly close to the very stereotypes made of the Appalachian natives themselves. The narrator reports Old Dan coming to town “riding a billy-goat and leading a hound” (7) at which point the clownish portrayal of him is heightened when the goat throws Old Dan “right straddlin’ a stump” (9). At the end



of both these first and second verses to the song, the refrain reminds the audience and Old Dan Tucker that his is unwelcome and must “get out of the way.” The repeated line that Old Dan is “too late” for his supper shows that the society that the narrator inhabits has ways of life, schedules, and culture does not have time or patience for Dan. He is “too late” and “a-standin” in the way.

Not only is Old Dan excluded from the home and thus personal lives of the people, but also he is prohibited and rejected from the society that is the town as a whole. The narrator in the third verse describes “The watchman feet was a-runing around / Crying ‘Old Dan Tucker is come to Town’”(13-14). There is much ruckus and even a “fight”(12) that breaks out on account of Old Dan coming to town. The listener is aware, however, that Old Dan did not start the fight because the narrator repeats that “Old Dan Tucker’s just a-standin’ there lookin.’” It is his comic presence alone that seems to incite the chaos.

The switching of voice from first, second, to third person that the narrator makes in the ballad also speaks to the representation of Old Dan as an outcast to society, creating a ‘we’ versus ‘them’ (or in this case ‘him’) dichotomy. The narrator speaks in third-person about the mythic Dan Tucker, but then addresses him specifically in the refrain telling him “you’re too late,” then he moves back to his audience saying “Old Dan Tucker’s just a-standin’ there lookin’.” By the third verse of the song, the narrator speaks in the first-person stating, “I came to town the other night” (11), to watch a “fight”(12) arise in the town upon Old Dan’s entrance.

There seem to exist two to three possible functions of this song for the former residents of the park. First perhaps they identify with Old Dan and his ‘otherness.’ Second, to point to someone and exclude someone when you also are ostracized lends a sort of power hierarchy. Old Dan is sort of a motif in himself because he is the odd-ball of the community. There seems to be some existence of a hierarchy of occupation and person as result of those with and without land and the different types of settling of the areas. Certainly, there were social taboos in existence. While it may be possible that Old Dan was also a comic (mis)representation of the African American, this seems to be more unlikely. The lyrics do not suggest a race for Old Dan and the implications of his race were made by the obvious association created by the blackface performers themselves. Without the minstrels living in the mountains to regularly reinforce this image, it seems Old Dan would take on more of a general outcast character in the community instead of one of color. He is outcast for his persona and ‘backwardness.’

Certainly, some could hypothesize that the Blue Ridge natives would

have possibly related to the sense of outcast felt by Old Dan Tucker, but this seems unlikely in considering how comic he is and also in light of the somewhat sophisticated social structure that most certainly did exist in the region. Though, it should be noted that Mr. and Mrs. Cave were perhaps more isolated from society in that Mr. Cave's family had settled the land for generations with the occupation of "farming patches."<sup>58</sup> Neither of the Caves ever went to school, but Mrs. Cave claimed "I could read some, and I got by."<sup>59</sup> Mrs. Cave spoke of her father who used to play banjo and claimed that it used to be played often. She was also able to quote lyrics to many songs in their interview. The Caves do however talk of their respective community in Dark Hollow, which congregated frequently at apple butter boilings, Christmas, and at regular church services. Whether at community work gatherings or church services, the people of Dark Hollow created their own society, one which had its own customs and traditions. Such a society would also be able to relate to the idea of an outsider who did not conform to their social norms.

Nettie Breeden Lang, an informant who also remembers playing the song, presents a lifestyle of much more seclusion. Her father owned a copper mine and she rarely left home for anything but the grocery store that was about six to seven miles away. She records rarely getting off the mountain and going to very few dances.<sup>60</sup> She does recall playing "Old Dan Tucker" on the banjo. One must wonder then, why or how the comical tale of a misfit person coming into a town with a watchman that sounds much different from these peoples' own lifestyles, was perpetuated. If in fact the society of Dark Hollow could relate to this figure who doesn't fall into the 'civilized' lifestyle, then the inhabitants of the area seem to take a higher level of sophistication, modernization, and development of their society. What the song does illustrate, however, is the influence or theft of the song through the non-local minstrel tradition. From this minstrel tradition, the Blue Ridge culture is introduced to forms of African-American music, which in turn adapts those non-local forms of music to local concerns.

### **Golden Slippers**

Despite the absolute theft and deliberate exploitation that was the tradition of blackface minstrelsy, gifted African-American songwriters like James A. Bland were able to infiltrate the music scene and spread a prolific number of tunes to regions of Appalachia, including the Blue Ridge, which would be treasured and played by peoples into the present day. Davis shows the positive impact of such a controversial tradition in stating, "min-

strelsy was a misleading representation of African-Americans to Civil War soldiers. It was however, a major way of spreading these songs."<sup>61</sup> Arlene Carr Abel of Sugar Hollow, James Burner of Page County, and Virginia and Robert Kenney of Dicky Ridge all confirm that the old-time "Golden Slippers" was a song common to and frequently played in the areas now claimed by the Shenandoah National Park.

Bland's "Golden Slippers" was published in 1879 and was frequently played for blackface minstrelsy. James Bland was absolutely prolific in his time and his songs remain alive into the present day, but certainly Golden Slippers in particular is a song that will be heard at any old-time music jam. The song speaks of the narrator's special "golden slippers" that are saved for a special occasion of a "wedding day" and also the narrator claims "I [he] will wear up in the chariot in the morn" along with a "long white robe" (2-5). The narrator speaks of his worldly belongings like his banjo (9) in contrast with his almost ethereal, royal garments like his white robe and golden slippers. The narrator seems to be longing for heaven when he is awarded his inheritance.

The relevancy of this song to the Blue Ridge natives may lie in its overarching message that a person in a world devoid of niceties and luxury may hope to expect those material objects later in heaven. For Arlene Carr Abel as well as Virginia and Robert Kenney, who were raised with difficult lifestyles of farming, with little education, the dream in something more may have contributed to the veneration of the song. No matter exactly how it was popularized though, there is no doubt of the profound impact James A. Bland's "Golden Slippers," like Dan Tucker, had on the Blue Ridge communities.

## **Conclusion**

The history of minstrelsy is a strange story of theft. What is astonishing though is the perpetuation of folk-song that it gave and in some cases, the genius of African Americans such as James A. Bland who wrote incredibly popular songs. This early exposure of the people of the Shenandoah National Park to the variety of cultures and peoples because of the advent of minstrel shows, reveals the peoples of the region to have a life exposed to the world with greater depth and brilliant origin and knowledge that is apparent and manifested in the music. The boundaries of Appalachian, minstrel, and African American all intertwine and so it would be inaccurate to separate them from one another; yet, they are each fictionalized identities that were and sometimes still continue to be marked by 'otherness.' In this

way, it is exciting to consider the function of minstrelsy in the Blue Ridge because the binary of otherness is dismembered. These songs tell a story and encapsulate a perception of life that was relatable and respected by the people of the Blue Ridge.

The repertoire of balladry, minstrelsy, and crime song that thrived within the Blue Ridge Mountains presents the former residents of the Shenandoah National Park as diverse peoples with a rich and broad-ranging access to music. As CrimeSong and each of the three subjects of ballads suggest, there is such diversification in the musical repertoire of the families of the Blue Ridge; and, this variance can be both beautiful as well as alarming, depending on the song. It was by no means a perfect area and contained many flawed as well as good qualities. It is undoubtedly a clique, but with the good also comes the bad. This reality is just as evident in the veneration of CrimeSong as it was the popularity of minstrelsy. Just as the music is not 'pure' in the sense that its Scots-Irish roots are unaltered, so also the song content and morality was not consistently 'pure.' It captured death, life, displacement, crime, heaven, and everything in between. The music of the Blue Ridge people reflects outside influences from minstrels, radios, railroads, and more, which contradicts the former parochial conceptions of the region. What is so striking and beautiful about the range of songs played within the Blue Ridge Mountains, is the value of local history and the constant re-imagination of these histories and stories to fit the lives of contemporary listeners of the songs so that they too may identify with them. Furthermore, the variety of these songs studied reveals a non-insular, adaptive community which was certainly connected to a world beyond their own mountains.

Some who have read this research may find it surprising or even disappointing that the music studied here does not confirm a perfectly archaic Scots-Irish society. But it is important to remember that the mountains of the Blue Ridge did not boast a society of Rip Van Winkles, who like Old Dan Tucker, came down off the mountain as though they had existed in a long slumber in a dream-state of a lifestyle mirroring the eighteenth-century Scotland and Ireland. Instead, the folk music reflected the contact of the mountain people with a more cosmopolitan modernity.

It is no wonder, having studied these songs in-depth, that there has been such a powerful interest in the preservation of these ballads. The ballads serve as an essential history and literature to persons long-forgotten after the creation of the Shenandoah National Park. This music of the Blue Ridge fam-

ilies—one that assimilated outside influences—also accommodated itself to the ever-changing circumstances of these people. Even today, the stories of the former natives of the Shenandoah National Park, which may seem limited to a special collections archive of a university, endure through the sharing of music.

## **Song Lyrics**

### **The Blue Ridge Mountaineer**

Written by E.A. Harris

*I have spent my days in the Blue Ridge Hills  
where I couldn't hear nothin' but the whippoorwills.  
There the lightnin' gave such a beautiful sight  
I could hardly tell when it grew night*

#### **Refrain:**

*But now I'm down in this low land  
Where the water is warm and the land's all poor*

*Where the old rattlesnake crawled all  
Summer long, till the frogs were all gone  
I had a home near the Blue Ridge Top  
Where the wildcats hopped from rock to rock  
I lived up there as happy as could be  
Never had the least idea anyone would ever bother me  
But one cold dark evening about four o'clock  
On my front door I heard a knock*

*In come the government people with papers, in their hands  
saying "Old man, we have taken your land.  
You must vacate by April 1st."  
I felt right then my heart would burst.*

*My wife and dear children stand by my side.  
Now we are trusting in our Savior to send us a guide.  
But come, dear children, don't grieve and cry,  
God will prepare a home for you and I.  
I have a good spring and a spring house combined.  
I hate to go and leave it behind.  
I have a good orchard and lots of good fruit.  
I often watch my big hogs root.*

*But the government is now traveling very slow;  
They chased me over in Old Tuckahole  
The left me standing an ole poor gall,  
That is the reason my head is so bald.*

*I climbed up a tree and I looked all around.  
I couldn't see nothin' but the persimmons hangin' down.  
I planted some potatoes, I dug them in the Fall;  
they were so little I ate them skin and all.*



*I woke up next morning at the rising of the sun.  
I cast my eyes 'round me while the treats began to fall.  
I wish I was back on Old Browns Gap,  
Where I used to raise potatoes as big as my cap.*

*I tho't of my dear old mother I was forced to leave behind.  
I tho't of my dear old father, who to me was so kind.  
I tho't of my old mountain home which I loved so well.  
My feelings at the moment no human tongue could tell.  
Oh I would like to be back in my tumble down shack,  
where the wild roses bloomed 'round my door.*

### **When it's lamplighting time in the Valley**

(Harold Goodman / Sam C. Hart / Joe Lyons / Curt Poulton / Dean Upson)

The Vagabonds - 1933 Also recorded by: Marty Robbins; Tex Ritter; Slim Dusty;  
Wayne King; Hylo Brown; Bob King; Lester Flat; Ann Case; Mac Wiseman; Norman Blake & Rich O'Brien.

*There's a lamp burning bright in a cabin  
In a window it's shining for me  
And I know that my mother is praying  
For her boy she is longing to see*

*When it's lamp lighting time in the valley  
Then in dreams I go back to my home  
I can see that old light in the window  
It will guide me wherever I roam*

*In the lamplight each night I can see her  
As she rocks in her chair to and fro  
Though she prays that I'll come back to see her  
Still I know that I never can go*

*When it's lamplighting time in the valley  
Then in dreams I go back to my home  
But I've sinned against my home and my loved ones  
And now I must evermore roam*

*So she lights up the lamp and keeps waiting  
For she knows not the crime I have done  
But I'll change all my ways and I'll meet her  
Up in Heaven when life's race is run*

*When it's lamp lighting time in the valley  
Then in dreams I go back to my home  
I can see that old light in the window  
It will guide me wherever I roam*

## **Going Across the Mountain**

(As sung by Frank Proffitt on the album "Frank Proffitt of Reese, North Carolina" Folk-Legacy CD). Frank's grandfather, a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln, chose to "go across the mountain to join the boys in blue" and fight against the Confederacy.)

*Going across the mountain,  
Oh, fare you well;  
Going across the mountain,  
You can hear my banjo tell.*

*Got my rations on my back,  
My powder it is dry;  
I'm a-goin' across the mountain,  
Chrissie, don't you cry.*

*Going across the mountain,  
To join the boys in blue;  
When this war is over,  
I'll come back to you.*

*Going across the mountain,  
If I have to crawl,  
To give old Jeff's men  
A little of my rifle ball.*

*Way before it's good daylight,  
If nothing happens to me,  
I'll be way down yander  
In old Tennessee.*

*I expect you'll miss me when I'm gone,  
But I'm going through;  
When this war is over,  
I'll come back to you.*

*Going across the mountain,  
Oh, fare you well;  
Going across the mountain,  
Oh, fare you well.*

## **Bury Me Under the Weeping Willow Tree**

*My heart is sad, and I'm in sorrow  
For the only one I love  
When shall I see him, oh, no, never  
Till I meet him in heaven above*

**[Chorus]**

*Oh, bury me under the weeping willow  
Yes, under the weeping willow tree*

*So he may know where I am sleeping  
And perhaps he will weep for me*

[Verse 2]

*They told me that he did not love me  
I could not believe it was true  
Until an angel softly whispered  
"He has proven untrue to you"*

[Chorus]

[Verse 3]

*Tomorrow was our wedding day  
But, Oh Lord, where is he?  
He's gone to seek him another bride  
And he cares no more for me*

### **Old Dan Tucker:**

**(Daniel Decatur Emmett)**

*Old Dan Tucker was a fine old man  
He washed his face in a frying pan  
He combed his hair with a wagon wheel  
And died of a toothache in his heel  
Get out the way old Dan Tucker  
You're too late to git your supper  
Supper's gone and dinner cookin'  
Old Dan Tucker's just a-standin' there lookin'.*

*Old Dan Tucker's a-comin' to town  
Riding a billy-goat and leading a hound  
The hound dog barked and billy-goat jumped  
Threwed Dan Tucker right straddlin' a stump.  
Get out the way old Dan Tucker  
You're too late to git your supper  
Supper's gone and dinner cookin'  
Old Dan Tucker's just a-standin' there lookin'.  
I come to town the other night  
To hear a noise and see the fight  
The watchman feet was a-running around  
Crying "Old Dan Tucker's come to Town."  
Get out the way old Dan Tucker  
You're too late to git your supper  
Supper's gone and dinner cookin'*

*Old Dan Tucker's just a-standin' there lookin'.  
Get out the way old Dan Tucker  
You're too late to git your supper  
Supper's gone and dinner cookin'  
Old Dan Tucker's just a-standin' there lookin'.*

## Golden Slippers:

Chorus:

*Oh, them golden slippers  
Oh, them golden slippers  
Golden slippers I'm goin' to wear  
Because they look so neat*

*Oh, them golden slippers  
Oh, them golden slippers  
Golden slippers I'm goin' to wear  
To walk the golden street*

Verses:

*Oh, my golden slippers am laid away  
'Cause I don't expect to wear 'em til my wedding day  
And my long tailed coat, that I love so well  
I will wear up in the chariot in the morn  
And my long white robe that I bought last June  
I'm goin' to get changed 'cause it fits too soon  
And the old grey hoss that I used to drive  
I will hitch him to the chariot in the morn*

*Oh, my old banjo hangs on the wall  
'Cause it ain't been tuned since way last fall  
But the folks all say we'll have a good time  
When we ride up in the chariot in the morn  
There's ol' brother Ben and his sister, Luce  
They will telegraph the news to uncle Bacco Juice  
What a great camp meetin' there will be that day  
When we ride up in the chariot in the morn*

*So, it's good-bye, children I will have to go  
Where the rain don't fall and the wind don't blow  
And yer ulster coats, why, you will not need  
When you ride up in the chariot in the morn*

## Endnotes

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<sup>3</sup>Matthew McKee, *Atlantic Crossroads, Historical connections between Scotland, Ulster and North America* (Newtownards, UK: Colourpoint Books, 2001), 67.

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<sup>5</sup>Alvin Dohme, *Shenandoah: The Valley Story* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 1973), 13-14.

<sup>6</sup>Scott Hamilton Suter, *Shenandoah Valley Folklife* (Jackson, Miss.: U of Mississippi Press, 1998), 8.

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- <sup>8</sup> Darwin Lambert, *The Undying past of Shenandoah National Park* (Boulder, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart in cooperation with Shenandoah Natural History Association, 1989), 139-145.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.
- <sup>10</sup> Sorrells and Brown, 27-29.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>12</sup> Lambert, 102-103.
- <sup>13</sup> Katrina M. Powell. "Writing the Geography of the Blue Ridge Mountains: How Displacement Recorded the Land," *In Answer at Once* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 76.
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- <sup>15</sup> Charles L. Perdue and Nancy J. Martin-Perdue. "Appalachian Fables and Facts: A Case Study of the Shenandoah National Park Removals," *Appalachian Journal* 7, no. 1/2 (1979): 88.
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- <sup>17</sup> Lam (SNP078)
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> Lambert, 249.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 249, 252.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.
- <sup>22</sup> Suter, 18.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.
- <sup>25</sup> John R. Gold and George Revill, "Gathering the Voices of the People? Cecil Sharp, Cultural Hybridity, and the Folk Music of Appalachia," *Geojournal* 65, no. 1/2, (February 2006), 55.
- <sup>26</sup> Dorothy Noble Smith, *Recollections: The People of Blue Ridge Remember* (Verona, Va.: McClure Print Co, 1983), 12.
- <sup>27</sup> Mattie Yager, "(SNP138) Mattie Yager: interviewed by Dorothy Noble Smith, transcribed by Sharon G. Marston". Dorothy Noble Smith. 25 April.1978. JMU Scholarly Commons Shenandoah National Park Oral History Collection
- <sup>28</sup> Fionna Ritchie and Doug Orr, *Wayfaring Strangers: The Musical Voyage from Scotland and Ulster to Appalachia* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: U of North Carolina Press, 2014), 188.
- <sup>29</sup> Alisoun Gardner-Medwin, "The 'Willow' Motif in Folksongs in Britain and Appalachia." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26, no. 1, (Jan. 1991): 241.
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- <sup>37</sup> Paul Harris, "(SNP059) Paul Harris interviewed by Dorothy Noble Smith, transcribed by Sharon G. Marston," Dorothy Noble Smith. 14 November. 1979. JMU Scholarly Commons Shenandoah National Park Oral History Collection
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<sup>54</sup>Robert B. Winans, 416.

<sup>55</sup>Curtis Owens, "Whose 'Dan Tucker'?" *The Journal of American Folklore* 84, no. 334 (1971): 446-448.

<sup>56</sup>Shrubsole, Grahame. "'Jim Crow', Old Dan Tucker and Miss Lucy Long: The Early Years of Negro Minstrelsy in Manchester." *Manchester Sounds* 3 (Jan. 2002): 27.

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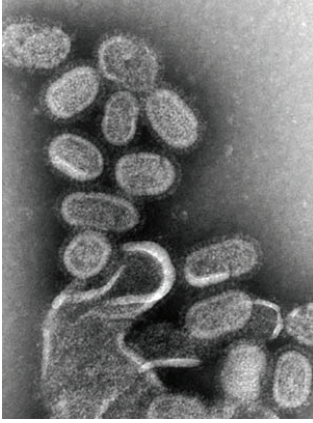
# The Flu of 1918: Attack on the Homefront

By Caitlyn Alexander  
and Nancy Sorrells

*Editor's note: Mary Baldwin University student Caitlyn Alexander participated in an internship with the Augusta County Historical Society in the fall of 2018. The focus of her work was to research and understand the effects of the global influenza pandemic in 1918 and, in particular, the effects of that pandemic on the local communities of Staunton, Waynesboro, and Augusta County. Together with Society board member Nancy Sorrells, who directed her internship at the historical society, they gave a presentation on their research at Second Presbyterian Church in Staunton as part of a community-wide, week-long series of events commemorating the centennial of World War I. This paper is a product of their research and presentation.*

One hundred years ago in the fall of 1918, World War I was drawing to a close although the heaviest fighting for men from the Staunton-Waynesboro-Augusta County community was yet to come. The campaign that ended the war—the Meuse-Argonne Campaign—involved many local men in the military and the bitter fighting resulted in a high casualty rate. When the war ended on November 11, 1918, sixteen million people around the





*The 1918 influenza virus as seen under the microscope.*

world had perished as a result of the conflict, including 117,000 Americans, about sixty of whom were from the Augusta County area.

But that number, as staggering as it is, paled in comparison to the second, deadlier event that was occurring simultaneously—the influenza pandemic that began in the late summer and peaked in the fall of 1918. The global pandemic, which still counts as the deadliest human pandemic in recorded human history, took between fifty and one hundred million lives, or close to five percent of the world's population according to sources that have studied the event.

The term “influenza” is an Italian word coined by victims of the flu in the eighteenth century, which translates to “influence of the cold.”<sup>1</sup> Influenza is a respiratory disease that is spread through one of two ways. The first way that the flu is spread is through droplets of mucus that are sprayed in the air when people fail to properly cover their nose or mouth when coughing or sneezing.<sup>2</sup> The second way that this disease is spread is through direct physical contact between someone who is sick and someone who is not.<sup>3</sup>

The pandemic came to be erroneously called the Spanish flu, probably because when the global pandemic reached Spain in the spring of 1918, news of the outbreak received uncensored journalistic attention because Spain was not involved in World War I. The reality is that the deadly strain of the virus originated in Fort Riley, Kansas, where it picked up a strain of avian flu and that “super virus” then quickly spread through the ranks of the soldiers training there in preparation for heading to Europe.<sup>4</sup>

The flu virus spreads through the world's population each year; however, the particular strain of flu that was present in 1918-1919 was like no other that had been seen before. With most strains of influenza, individuals sicken for only a few days with symptoms that include chills, fevers, aches and pains, runny nose, and congestion. After these symptoms

have passed, they usually recover, but with the flu of 1918, this was often not the case. In addition, the highest mortality rate for influenza is usually among those who are very young or very old or who have compromised immune systems. In the case of the flu pandemic that is the subject of this paper, the highest mortality occurred in young adults who were the most physically fit and who had the strongest immune systems. Those victims, often young men serving in the military, sickened with the flu, and then immediately become deathly ill, and died within hours or days because they developed a secondary bacterial infection after the fourth or fifth day of having the flu – most often pneumonia, but also sometimes an inflammation of the ear or meningitis.<sup>6</sup> In some cases, this secondary infection would be fatal, and in others it was just something that an individual had to deal with until it too had passed.<sup>7</sup>

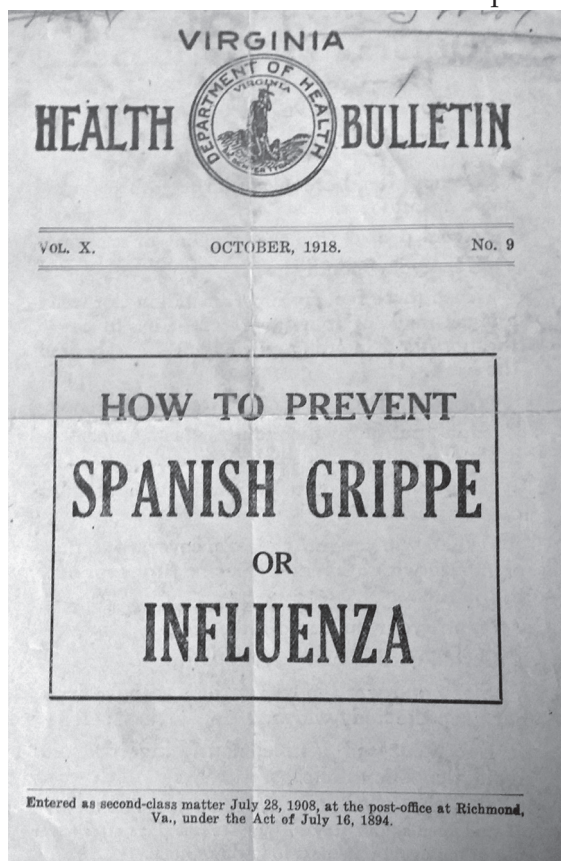
The fascination that many individuals have with the flu pandemic of 1918 is that this disease spread rapidly and had a high incidence of mortality among the healthiest populations. The estimation for the total number of lives taken varies from source to source. Some sources estimate a loss of 675,000 Americans, 43,000 of which were servicemen involved in World War I.<sup>8</sup> Worldwide it is estimated that twenty to forty million people lost their lives to this disease, far more than died as a result of the world war.<sup>9</sup> Despite the different estimates of how many lives were lost, this flu is notorious for being the flu that killed many people between the ages of twenty and fifty.<sup>10</sup>

This particular flu pandemic is noted as having occurred in three waves that traveled the globe. The first wave occurred in the spring and summer of 1918.<sup>11</sup> The second wave of the flu occurred in the fall of 1918, around August, and is recognized as the wave that caused the most fatalities.<sup>12</sup> It was during this wave of the flu that Staunton and its surrounding areas were affected most by the flu. The third and final wave of the flu began in the winter of 1918 and ended in the spring of 1919.<sup>13</sup> The spread of the disease was exacerbated by the gathering together of hundreds of thousands of young men who were in the military and preparing for war.

The truly amazing aspect of this flu is how quickly it traveled across the globe and how quickly people became infected. The easiest way to describe how quickly this virus spread is to examine an early outbreak of the virus in Boston, Massachusetts. During the second wave of the flu, it arrived in Boston at some point in August. On August 28, there were eight navy men sick with the flu. The next day, that number increased to fifty-eight. By day four, eighty-one people were sick. A week later, there

were 119 sick members of the military and one civilian who had been admitted with the flu. By September 8, three people had died—a man in the Navy, a merchant marine, and a civilian.<sup>14</sup>

The flu pandemic of 1918 swept the globe, and residents of Staunton, Waynesboro, and Augusta County were not able to escape its devastating effects. People across all spectra of society were struck down with the flu and there appeared to be no way to stop the spread. Staunton has always been home to a number of schools and institutions. Examining several of those institutions in order to understand how the epidemic affected them in the context of their relationship with the rest of the city is interesting. Mary Baldwin Seminary (today Mary Baldwin University), a prominent institution in Staunton since 1842, was fortunate to have had very little exposure to the flu, but the epidemic was nonetheless on the minds of the administration. In the board meeting minutes from 1918-1919, there's a passage that describes the effect that the flu had upon the seminary.



*A flyer published by the Virginia Department of Health listed ways in which people could protect themselves from the flu. (ACHS archives)*



Since our last stated meeting the prevalence of "influenza" in the community has caused us some anxiety as to the effect upon the Seminary, and for a time we deemed it prudent to establish [inaugurate] a strict quarantine, upon the suggestion of Dr. Rankin, The Seminary physician. During the period of the quarantine, services were regularly held on Sabbath mornings for the scholars with preaching by Dr. Fraser, Gypsy Smith, and the Rev. Mr. Sprouse. Not a single case of influenza had occurred in the Seminary up to the time when it closed for the Christmas holidays. There were, however, six cases of typhoid fever of a light form, five of which were removed to the King's Daughters' Hospital. None of them were proved serious.<sup>15</sup>

It was not until the students returned from the Christmas holidays that cases of influenza were found at Mary Baldwin. In January of 1919, a number of cases were reported and the seminary had to hire four new nurses as a result; however, none of the cases was serious and there was no loss of life at the school.<sup>16</sup>

Staunton and many of the other institutions were not as lucky during this same time period. A quick look at Staunton newspaper articles ranging from September 20, 1918, until October 15, 1918, showed approximately twenty-six articles about the flu, often times referred to as the "Spanish Influenza."<sup>17</sup> This number does not include the numerous war casualty lists that were posted in each issue and many of the young men on the casualty list were victims of influenza. During the month of September, there were seven articles posted in the newspaper about the flu. All seven articles spoke of the number of new cases that were developing nationally and how quickly it was spreading. On September 25 two articles appeared in the local newspaper. One article entitled "2,943 new cases of the Spanish Influenza have developed" stated that there were a large number of new cases of influenza developing and that many of the deaths that followed the disease were not due to the disease itself, but to pneumonia, which was an unfortunate after effect of the flu that took many lives.<sup>18</sup> In October, there were nineteen articles posted about the flu, with October 10 being the day with the highest number of articles.<sup>19</sup> Those articles were titled "Quarantine Notice," "Attorney J. E. Pifer dies suddenly from influenza," "13,605 new cases of influenza show it's not abating," "Pneumonia: How to Prevent It," and "Spanish Influenza: Some facts about it and how to prevent its spread."<sup>20</sup>

For the local citizenry, bad news seemed to come in waves. Not only was the area receiving news of the alarming spread of influenza, but they were receiving news of the war raging in Europe. At times, those two issues

## PNEUMONIA CLAIMS HENRY O. TILMAN AT HOME IN SALTVILLE

The Remains, Accompanied by Parents of Deceased, Will Arrive Here This Afternoon.

The remains of Henry O. Tilman, twenty-seven years of age, who died at his home in Saltville, Va., late Monday night after a brief illness with influenza and pneumonia, will arrive in Staunton this evening accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Tilman, who were summonsed to Saltville by their son's illness.

Funeral arrangements will be announced upon the arrival of the funeral party.

Mr. Tilman was the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Tilman and was well known here. He graduated from the Virginia Polytechnic Institute at Blacksburg, and had gained a reputation as a chemist. His wife, who was a Miss Sanders of Saltville, survives him, as do two small children: his parents and one brother, Garland.

## W. R. HEVENER IS VICTIM OF INFLUENZA WHILE AT NORFOLK

W. R. Hevener, who three weeks ago tomorrow left this city to enter the Navy in which he had previously enlisted, was stricken with influenza Sunday. He died after a few hours sickness. The body will be brought here for burial.

Mr. Hevener was twenty-one years of age on the Fourth of July, last. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Hevener, of near Staunton, three sisters, Misses Blanche and Beulah and Mrs. Edwin Leavell, and one brother, Harry. He was a nephew of W. H. Snyder, pressman for The Daily News.

Mr. Hevener was a young man of splendid habits, and was esteemed by his many friends. His sudden death was a shock to the family and to his friends.

## BIG DEATH RATE

[By The Associated Press.]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5.—Spanish influenza spread more rapidly during the twenty-four hours ending today noon, than in any similar period since the disease became epidemic. Reports to the office of the surgeon general of the army showed 17,323 cases in army camps. The new cases represented an increase of 4,498 in comparison with the number reported for preceding twenty-four period. A total of 2,141 new pneumonia cases were reported, an increase of 287. Deaths at camp totalled 652, an increase of 199.

*A few of the dozens of articles that appeared in the Staunton newspapers in the fall of 1918.*

intersected. Of the approximately sixty local military men who died as a result of the war, over half died from non-combat related issues, mostly from the flu. That nexus of military concern and influenza concern was driven home by the headlines on the front page of the *Staunton Morning Leader* on October 1, 1918. The two largest headlines were: "Bulgaria Quits; Turkey's Fall Is Imminent," and "Entire German Defensive Line Is Crumbling Under Pressure." The next largest headline after that read: "Two Soldier Brothers Die Within Week." That headline described the sad tale of the Beard brothers, both serving in the army at two different training camps, one in Virginia and one in New Jersey. The two brothers died of the flu within a week of each other. Their bodies were shipped home and laid to rest after a double funeral at Bethel Presbyterian Church near Greenville.<sup>21</sup>

Several of the articles posted during the month of October, when the flu was raging seemingly unchecked through the country, were about "Spanish Influenza" and ways that a person could prevent himself personally as well as loved ones from getting it. "Coughs and Sneezes Spread Diseases," read a notice in the newspaper. The local health departments issued a flyer that was widely distributed advising citizens how best to "Prevent Spanish Grippe or Influenza."<sup>22</sup>

The flyer information was freely reprinted in the newspaper and contained such advice as "Keep away from crowds," "Don't use a cup used by others without thoroughly washing it," and "Don't put into your mouth fingers, pencils or other things that don't belong there."

The local drug stores offered information and advice as well. Drug-gist Thomas Hogshead advertised that "Every glass and spoon at our foundation [is] dipped in solution Chloride of Lime, the most powerful disinfectant and germ destroyer known." The store also advertised that they had received a large shipment of formaldehyde candles for fumigating an area after someone was sick. Bell's Drug Store sold a "petroleum emulsion" to aid in the healing process after the flu, and Willson Brothers Drug Store sold "Rexall Syrup of Hypophosphites to help renew strength after illness. The tonic had as its ingredients lime, soda, potash, quinine, and strychnine!"<sup>23</sup>

Despite various precautions, including requiring face masks in many public places, the numbers of those stricken continued to rise. Feeling helpless as the disease continued to spread, both the city of Staunton and Augusta County issued quarantine notices and set up temporary hospitals in places such as the closed schools, to treat the victims.

Every glass and spoon at our fountain dipped in solution Chloride of Lime, the most powerful disinfectant and germ destroyer known.

**Thos. Hogshead**  
Quality Counts

**HAS PREVENTED INFLUENZA**

Indian Liver & Stomach Tonic

is a most powerful internal Antiseptic and we do not know of a case of influenza, where this great remedy has been used.

\$1.00 bottle for 50 cts.

**Thos. Hogshead**  
ONLY  
Quality Counts

*Advertisements such as these were common in the local Staunton newspaper.*

of having the packages placed on board.

**RENEW YOUR STRENGTH**

Keep strong and healthy and you will miss the FLU. If you have had the FLU there is nothing that will build you up quicker than

**Rexall Syrup Of Hypophosphites**

This preparation consists of the hypophosphites of lime, soda, potash, quinine and strychnine. As a system builder and a general tonic to stimulate the appetite and renew your strength there is nothing better. Guaranteed to give results or your money back.

**WILLSON BROS.,**  
Druggists

The Staunton quarantine notice, posted by the city board of health, went into effect at noon on October 9. It announced that

In order to prevent further spread and to take all reasonable precaution against the epidemic of Spanish Influenza raging through the country, the City Board of Health, in conjunction with the State Board, hereby order that all public schools, including the business colleges, be closed, that all private schools be rigidly quarantined, (day pupils are not allowed to attend) that all moving picture shows and theatres be closed and that no further meetings or gatherings of any kind whatever be held until further notice is officially given by the Board of Health.<sup>24</sup>



# CITY UNDER QUARANTINE; GATHERINGS PROHIBITED

## CHURCHES, SHOWS AND SCHOOLS ARE FORCED TO CLOSE

The above proclamation was issued by the Board of Health for the City of Staunton during the morning. The board met Tuesday afternoon and agreed that such a step be taken, but wired the State Health Commissioner, Dr. Eanson G. Williams, asking his approval. His reply, received early this morning, informed the local authorities that the action taken was entirely proper and necessary.

As stated in the quarantine notice "no further meetings or gatherings of any kind whatever" are to be held until further notice. This affects all public schools, including business colleges, the strict quarantining of private schools, to which day pupils will not be permitted to attend, moving picture shows and theatres. Although the proclamation does not state it specifically, yet the order affects churches, Sunday Schools, and other gatherings of a religious nature.

As a department of the city public school system, the night school will also be closed until the quarantine is lifted.

### Ministers Cooperate

Meeting during the morning before the health board's edict was made public, the Staunton Ministerial Association passed the following resolution:

"Resolved: that we heartily cooperate with the City Board of Health in whatever action it may deem best to take in regard to the spread of Spanish influenza.

W. W. SPROUSE, Clerk.

Present at this meeting were Rev. Dr. W. N. Scott, who presided; Rev. A. M. Fraser, Rev. Dr. T. O. Keister, Rev. M. D. Mitchell and Rev. W. W. Sprouse.

Owing to the closing order there will be no prayer meeting held in any of the churches this evening, and the protracted service at the Third Presbyterian church has been discontinued by the pastor.

### Rally To Be Postponed.

Tuesday evening J. H. C. Grasty, president of the Augusta County Farmers' Union, received a telegram from Health Commissioner Williams which stated that it would not be wise to hold the big Liberty Loan rally here on Saturday. Mr. Grasty wired Dr. Williams concerning the advisability of having the meeting. It has been postponed.

(Continued On Page Six.)

## FOURTH L. L.

### QUARANTINE NOTICE

In order to prevent further spread and to take all reasonable precaution against the epidemic of Spanish Influenza raging throughout the country, the City Board of Health, in conjunction with the State Board, hereby order that all public schools, including the business colleges, be closed, that all private schools be rigidly quarantined, (day pupils are not allowed to attend) that all moving picture shows and theatres be closed and that no further meetings or gatherings of any kind whatever be held until further notice is officially given by the Board of Health.

Attention of the public is called to the precautionary measures now being given out by the State Board of Health which are printed in pamphlet form and in the newspapers. You are urged to follow these rules as far as possible and thereby assist the Board in making this quarantine effective. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the importance of saving our city from an epidemic of this disease. With the great scarcity of doctors and nurses preventive methods MUST be used.

This order becomes effective at noon, 12 o'clock, October 9, 1918.

BOARD OF HEALTH,  
For the City of Staunton.

### GOVERNMENT AND COMPANY AGREE

Theodore N. Vail, president of the American Bell Telephone Company, announces that a satisfactory basis of compensation for the Bell system under Government control has been arranged. He states that the Government has acted very fairly toward the company, permitting it to continue all of its ordinary operations, including pensions to aged employees, and the employment of all the men in its various departments needed to keep the company up to the highest standard of efficiency. A satisfactory arrangement was also made for making proper dividends on the stock, so that the owners of the company may not lose their regular income from the property.

Persons whose interest in the company makes it desirable for them to secure more detailed information of the plan of agreement may secure it by writing to the company's headquarters in New York City.

### FORMER PREMIER SHOT.

[By The Associated Press.] Stockholm, Oct. 9.—Alexander Fedorovich Trepoff, a former Russian Premier, has been shot, according to Petrograd advices received today.

### DR. HENKLE LEAVES.

Dr. Homer S. Henkel, First Lieutenant in the Medical Reserve Corps, left during the day to report for duty at Camp Gretna, Charlotte, N. C.

### HEALTH EXPERTS ISSUE RULE FOR SODA FOUNTAINS

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 9.—Restrictions placed upon the soft drink establishments as a preventive against the spread of the epidemic were moderated yesterday. Vendors of soft drinks, under the new order, may dispense bottled goods. The buyer cannot be served with a glass, but if the dealer has a supply of sanitary paper drinking cups he is permitted to give the customer one of these with his bottled beverage.

No drinks may be served from the soda fountain. Ice cream may be sold, if served in paper boxes or cones. Contact with spoon or glass by the customer is prohibited. In lunch rooms milk must be served in the bottle only and ice cream in the sanitary-individual saucer, which may be used only by a single consumer.

### MEETINGS POSTPONED

The meeting of the Ladies Aid Society, of Christ Lutheran church, which was to have been held Thursday, has been postponed.

The Women's Missionary Society of Central Methodist church has postponed the meeting to have been held on Friday afternoon.

On account of the quarantine there will be no prayer meetings Thursday morning.

### 4 PLANES—20 MINUTES.

[By The Associated Press.] Paris, Oct. 9.—Lieutenant Fonck has brought down four airplanes in twenty minutes, making several official victories.

## NOTE A WILSON WA

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This Loan is Loan. "Victory any even merican as big a you can Make



# COUNTY HEALTH BOARD PUTS BAN ON GATHERINGS

Staunton, Va., Oct. 8, '18.

"Owing to the further development of "Spanish Influenza" in the last two days in the County, the Board of Health met today and determined to close all of the public schools in the County until further notice. Churches, Sunday Schools and moving picture shows are also closed, and all public meetings of whatever nature are prohibited.

"The attention of the public is called to the seriousness of this disease and to the havoc that is being wrought in near-by places, not to travel about more than absolutely necessary and to keep their children at home all of the time.

"Physicians and nurses are advised to wear gauze masks while attending the sick in all cases and to segregate the cases occurring in a home as far as possible, to prevent complications.

"THE BOARD OF HEALTH REALIZES THAT THESE QUARANTINE MEASURES WILL BE OF NO AVAIL UNLESS THEY HAVE THE HEARTY CO-OPERATION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC IN CARRYING THEM OUT.

"This is not only for the protection of the members of each individual family, but for the protection of your neighbor and the community, and these simple safe guards will save the State and the Country from an epidemic which threatens us."

AUGUSTA COUNTY BOARD OF HEALTH.

Dr. H. M. Wallace, Secretary and Health Officer.

## GLASGOW ASKS FOR SUPPORT IN PRESENT CRISIS

To the Liberty Loan Workers of Augusta County and the City of Staunton:

As Chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee, I have been trying in every way possible to make this drive a success. Speaking engagements had been arranged for all parts of the county, but now, on account of the influenza, the health board of the county has ordered a suspension of all public meetings.

Under these circumstances, I must make the strongest appeal that it is possible for me to make to the patriotic people and particularly to the Liberty Loan workers and solicitors of this county and city to take up this work and, even at heavy sacrifice, to devote a sufficient part of their time to this work to make it a success.

Let the committees of the different districts of the county and city meet together and arrange for systematic solicitation of the people of the county. This is the only thing that is left to me as your Chairman, and I make this appeal in the name of two thousand Augusta County boys who are either "over-

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*In October of 1918 both Staunton (previous page) and Augusta County issued quarantines, as can be see from these two articles in the Staunton newspaper.*

**FLU SITUATION  
IN THE COUNTY  
IS UNPLEASING**

Dr. H. W. Wallace, County Health officer, is not at all pleased with the influenza situation in Augusta County. Speaking to a Leader representative he declared:

"The situation as regards influenza has not improved in the last forty-eight hours at Waynesboro, Basic City, Crimora, and Stuarts Draft. It is also spreading some into the outlying districts.

"I realize that in an extensive epidemic like that it is impossible to maintain an absolute quarantine but those families that have it must isolate themselves and the people should not go about so much. Above all there should be a more extensive use of the face mask.

"I think the Red Cross Auxiliaries could make up a lot of these. Mrs. Hanger has instructions for making them."

**LOCAL MEN PICTURED**

In the pictorial section of The

**CLOSE SCHOOLS  
IN THE COUNTY**

**BOARD OF HEALTH URGES CO-  
OPERATION OF THE PEOPLE  
IN SAFEGUARDING HEALTH.**

**NO PUBLIC MEETINGS.**

**Churches, Sunday Schools and Pub-  
lic Gatherings of Every Kind in  
County are Prohibited.**

**Owing to the further develop-**

Institutions like Western State Hospital for the mentally ill that was located on the edge of the city were affected by the flu as well, while other places like the Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind were able to avoid it altogether by strictly adhering to the quarantine. According to Western State's Annual Report of 1919, there were two hundred cases reported, and fifteen of those died from influenza.<sup>25</sup> The annual report also shows that there were forty-eight people who died of pneumonia, which was often what killed victims of the flu.<sup>26</sup> Information from the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind (VSDB) shows that as soon as school officials had any indication that their school was in danger, they implemented a quarantine that prevented students from leaving the grounds until further notice.<sup>27</sup> In doing so, they were able to keep the flu out of the school, keeping all of the children safe and healthy.<sup>28</sup>

The VSDB newspaper provided an interesting description of the city quarantine:

Church services were suspended; the public schools, theatres, billiard rooms, and bowling alleys closed; and crowds were not allowed to congregate at the railroad stations or on the streets. The police had no trouble in enforcing these regulations for the public showed a willingness to co-operate with the authorities in checking the disease at the outset. The few cases which have occurred have been closely quarantined, and the Seminary students and cadets of the Military Academy have been kept within bounds. People have been going about their daily occupations as usual and business generally has not been seriously affected.<sup>29</sup>

The newspaper did bemoan the fact that the "epidemic of influenza broke up all the plans our football team had made for the fall campaign," but otherwise noted that the students were "glad to get down street again... after being under quarantine for weeks."<sup>30</sup> The Staunton quarantine was in place until October 31, 1918, when another article titled "Quarantine is Lifted by the Board of Health" was posted.<sup>31</sup>

After agonizing for several days and putting special rules into effect that required public school teachers to inspect pupils each day for signs of illness, Augusta County finally announced a quarantine at the same time as did Staunton, issuing the following statement.

Owing to the further development of "Spanish Influenza" in the last two days in the County, the Board of Health met today and determined to close all of the public schools in the County until further notice. Churches, Sunday Schools and moving picture shows are also closed, and all public meetings of whatever nature are prohibited.<sup>32</sup>

The announcement went on to admonish the people as to the "seriousness of this disease and to the havoc that is being wrought." People were advised to keep children home at all times and physicians and nurses were advised to wear gauze masks. The quarantine was necessary, said the Augusta County Board of Health, "for the protection of the members of each individual family, [and]... of your neighbor and the community..."<sup>33</sup>

The helplessness and near-panic of the community is reflected in some of the surviving descriptions by people who lived through the epidemic. Stuarts Draft's Bessie Bridge Hailey (1900-1986) wrote of the incident in her journal. She had been working in Staunton and had to come home because she had been working with a woman who contracted the flu.

By the end of the September, I had been with a lady, Miss Dell Dodd, who had the influenza and, of course, I had to leave and go home, for it was very dangerous. A few days after I was home, one of the older brothers took this flu and the whole family got it, all in bed at one time, with no one to wait on us. Everyone was scared of it and some neighbors





*Face masks were often required by those going out in public as can be seen in the top photograph as well as the newspaper article from the Staunton newspaper.*

brought food to the door and left it. Herbert, Lum and Carl Hatter, who lived about five miles away, heard of our need and they came and did what they could for us, as they had already had it.

Dr. W.B. Dodge came to see about us and he took Oscar, my oldest brother, and me to Stuarts Draft School, which had been turned into a hospital to help take care of the people who needed attention. A lady next to my bed had a nightmare one night and came to my bed and was going to roll me out and I was scared.<sup>34</sup>

Hailey's journal account is corroborated by a November 5, 1918, article found in the Staunton newspaper. The article recounts the fact that in Stuarts Draft the closed school house was turned into a temporary hospital for influenza patients for two weeks in October. Dr. W.B. Dodge was indeed one of two physicians at the hospital, the other being Dr. D.T. Gochenour. There were also eight nurses. Twenty-seven influenza patients were treated at the hospital and only one died. A list of those treated in the hospital included Bessie and her brother Oscar Bridge.<sup>35</sup>

The Thornrose Cemetery is now the final resting place to more than 20,000 persons, some of whom were very important figures in the community, such as Mary Julia Baldwin. It is also, by far, the largest cemetery in the area. Curiosity led us to examine the death records of 1917 to 1919 to see how many burials were the result of flu or pneumonia. The records showed that in the years of 1917 and 1920, there was no one whose cause of death was influenza; however, between September 26, 1918, and March 26, 1919, there were thirty-four burials of people who died either of influenza or pneumonia.<sup>36</sup> Of these, there were eleven burials held in Thornrose during the month of October.<sup>37</sup> That number decreased to seven during the month of November and continued to decrease to six during the month of December.<sup>38</sup> The number of flu victims who were buried in Thornrose each month continued decreasing until there were only two in March.<sup>39</sup>

An interesting fact to note is that several of the individuals who were buried in the Thornrose Cemetery did not die in Staunton. In fact, there were ten people who died in Maryland, West Virginia, or Ohio, obviously unexpectedly, and their bodies were shipped back to Staunton.<sup>40</sup> There were three days in which there were two flu victims buried on the same day. Those days were October 18, October 23, and December 30, 1918.<sup>41</sup> Of note is the fact that December 30 is the only day that there were multiple deaths reported from the same location, which in this case was Staunton.<sup>42</sup> The other two days that had multiple deaths involved individuals who died in completely separate areas like Baltimore and Staunton, or Hopewell, Virginia, and at sea.<sup>43</sup>

In several instances newspaper articles were able to fill in the details of those Thornrose burial entries. For instance, on September 8, 1918, Henry Tilman of Saltville became the second influenza victim to be buried at the cemetery.

The remains of Henry O. Tilman, twenty-seven years of age, who died at his home in Saltville, Va., late Monday night after a brief illness with influenza and pneumonia, will arrive in Staunton this evening accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Tilman, who were summoned to Saltville by their son's illness," noted a newspaper article.<sup>44</sup> Tilman was the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Tilman, had graduated from Virginia Tech and was a chemist working in Saltville where he had married a local woman. They had two small children.

Mabel Paxton, age twenty-nine, was the ninth influenza victim to be buried at Thornrose on October 23. "The remains of Mrs. E. Vernon Paxton, who died in Baltimore, Monday of influenza, will reach Staunton Thursday morning on the early train. Services will be conducted at the grave, in Thornrose cemetery, at 11 o'clock, by Rev. W.Q. Hullihen, Mrs. Paxton having been a member of the Episcopal church."<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps one of the saddest stories was that of seven-year-old Precious DePriest, who was the eleventh flu victim laid to rest in Thornrose. Her burial was on October 24. The newspaper account, under the headline "Influenza and Death Lay Low a Family Here," is somber.

Death, pneumonia, and Spanish influenza have at least one Staunton family within their grasp.

Within the home at 1216 West Main street now is a husband just able to sit up after an attack of influenza, the wife should be in bed, but is fighting a noble battle to retain strength to administer to the suffering, one daughter about eight years old lies a corpse, five children have the influenza, and the sixth, a baby about six months old is not expected to live, being afflicted with double pneumonia.

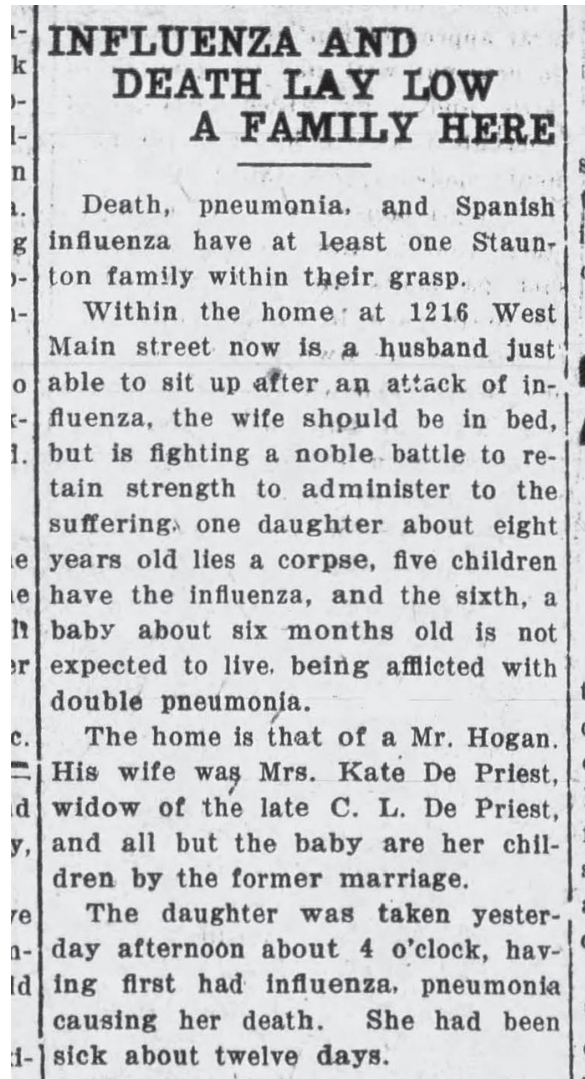
The home is that of a Mr. Hogan. His wife was Mrs. Kate DePriest, widow of the late C.L. De Priest, and all but the baby are her children by the former marriage.

The daughter [Precious] was taken yesterday afternoon about 4 o'clock, having first had influenza, pneumonia causing her death. She had been sick about twelve days.<sup>46</sup>

As has been mentioned previously, the news of influenza victims included those serving in the military, most based stateside and preparing to ship out to the battlefield in Europe. Samples of the local headlines include the following military men who died from the flu:



*Newspaper article describing the effects of the flu on a Staunton family.*



Edwin Dameron Dies At Camp Humphreys From The  
Influenza [from Stuarts Draft]

Russell Snyder Is Laid To Rest [Died at camp in N.J. and was from  
Churchville]

[Private J.I. Ralston] Dies at Camp Lee [from Highland County]

W. R. Hevener Is Victim Of Influenza While At Norfolk [from Staunton]

Chas. P. Hodge, U.S. Navy, Dead [died in Norfolk, from Stuarts Draft]<sup>47</sup>

So what happened in 1918 in the Staunton-Waynesboro-Augusta County area and around the world? Over the years, scientists have learned more and more about what a virus is and how to stop and prevent its spread. They have learned that there are two different strains of viruses, virus A strains

# ENCLOSURE

## CHAS. P. HODGE, U. S. NAVY, DEAD

To the honor roll of Augusta boys, who have given their life for the cause of humanity, is added the name of Charles Preston Hodge, who joined the Navy and reported for duty in Norfolk three weeks ago. Soon after he reported he was taken ill with influenza, which later developed into pneumonia, and for the last week, he has been making a brave fight for his life in the base hospital at Norfolk. He succumbed at 7:30 Monday evening, and with him to the last were his parents, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Hodge, of Stuarts Draft, who were called to his bedside last week.

Mr. Hodge was about twenty-six years of age, and was one of Augusta's finest young men, a devoted Christian, and highly esteemed by all who knew him. He had been assisting his father on the farm, until he enlisted in the Navy, and he was one of the best known young men in the Stuarts Draft section. Since childhood he had been a member of Tinkling Spring Presbyterian church. Surviving besides his parents is one brother, Earl Hodge.

Much sympathy is expressed for the bereaved parents, as this is the second son they have lost in recent years. Another son, Harry, having died several years ago, in his twenty-first year.

Mr. and Mrs. Hodge will return home on an evening train and the remains of their son will arrive within the next few days, and will be conveyed to the home, near Stuarts Draft.

### DRAFT CALLS TO BE ISSUED NOW

The vessel finally dashed on the rocks and broke squarely in two.

## RUSSELL SNYDER IS LAID AT REST

Services for Russell Snyder, son of Mr. and Mrs. George H. Snyder, of near Churchville, were held at the grave Friday afternoon, conducted by Rev. Wm. C. White, pastor of Loch Willow Church, of which the deceased was a member, assisted by Rev. Luther Propes.

Mr. Snyder died Monday in an army camp, at Salem, N. J., from pneumonia, contracted from influenza, and his death was a great shock to his family and friends, as it was not known that he was ill.

He volunteered and was sent to the Training Detachment at the University. Upon completing the course he was given a month's leave in order to assist on the farm, but was called to camp at the end of three weeks. He died shortly after returning to duty.

Surviving Mr. Snyder, besides his parents, is a brother, Charles Snyder, and two sisters, Mrs. Newton Acord and Miss Catherine Snyder.

The bearers at the funeral were Peyton Russell, Jesse and Clayborne, and Hugh Shaffer. Flower bearers were Misses Anna Laura Shaeffer, Laura and Virginia Sites, Mrs. Paul Spittler, Stuart Sites, and Benson Baylor.

Mr. Snyder was the first member of Loch Willow church to give his life for humanity, and the first in the community to die in camp. Another boy, Luther W. Fisher, of the same neighborhood gave his life on the battlefield of France, but Mr. Snyder is the first whose remains have been brought back for burial at home. He was a fine young man, with many friends to mourn his loss.

### MEETING POSTPONED

On account of the epidemic of

*Two examples of servicemen from the area who died of influenza.*

and virus B strains.<sup>48</sup> Virus A strains are ones that mutate rapidly meaning that an individual has the possibility of catching it year after year.<sup>49</sup> Virus B strains do not mutate as quickly.<sup>50</sup> In recent years, scientists have been able to recreate the 1918 flu by collecting lung tissue from bodies of 1918 influenza victims that had been frozen under layers of permafrost.<sup>51</sup> This has allowed scientists an opportunity to understand what made this virus so deadly that it took the lives of so many young, healthy people. While the 1918 H1N1

virus has been synthesized and evaluated, the properties that made it so devastating are still not well understood. One school of thought now is that the virus overstimulated the immune response system of its victims. Those within the population who were the strongest with the healthiest immune systems were the hardest hit because their immune systems never cut off.<sup>52</sup>

However, should such a pandemic occur again, modern medicine is better prepared. In 1918, with no vaccine to protect against influenza infection and with no antibiotics to treat secondary bacterial infections that can be associated with influenza infections, control efforts worldwide were limited to non-pharmaceutical interventions such as isolation, quarantine, good personal hygiene, the use of disinfectants, and limitations of public gatherings, which were applied unevenly across the nation and around the world.

Every major flu pandemic the world has experienced since 1918 has been connected to this one. The viruses have been a mutation in one form or another of this unique pandemic virus. Because it sickened and killed so much of the world's population, every other pandemic is compared to this one and the way we react to pandemic threats is based on a virus's potential to kill like this one did. The research on the impact of the 1918 flu pandemic on Staunton and Augusta County and the many institutions there shows that there were a lot of people who fell ill during this period of time. Even as the world's first-ever global conflict was drawing to a close, communities like those in the Staunton-Waynesboro-Augusta County area were recovering from a deadly attack on the home front. At home and abroad, the fall of 1918 was certainly one for the history books.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Gina Kolata, *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus that Caused It* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 12.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup><https://www.history.com/news/why-was-the-1918-influenza-pandemic-called-the-spanish-flu>.

<sup>5</sup>Kristina Duda, "1918 Flu Pandemic or the Spanish Flu," Verywell Health, last modified August 1, 2018, <https://www.verywellhealth.com/1918-flu-pandemic-770262>.

<sup>6</sup>Kolata, 12.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>Jeffery K. Taubenberger, "The Origin and Virulence of the 1918 "Spanish" Influenza Virus," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 150, no. 1 (March 2006): xx, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4598974>.

<sup>9</sup>Ann H. Reid et al., "Origin and Evolution of the 1918 "Spanish" Influenza Virus Hemagglutinin Gene," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 96, no. 4 (February 1999): xx, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/47257>.

<sup>10</sup>Duda.

<sup>11</sup>CDC, "1918 Pandemic Influenza: Three Waves," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, last modified May 11, 2018, <https://www.cdc.gov/flu/pandemic-resources/1918-commemoration/three-waves.htm>.

<sup>12</sup>C, "Three Waves."

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.

- <sup>15</sup>Mary Baldwin University's (Staunton, Va.) archives, 1918-1919 Board Minutes. Transcribed by Caitlyn Alexander and Nancy Sorrells, November 2018.
- <sup>16</sup>MBU archives, 1918-1919 Board Minutes.
- <sup>17</sup>*Staunton Morning Leader*, (July 1918-December 1918). Microfilm Collection, Staunton Public Library.
- <sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>21</sup>*Staunton Morning Leader*, October 1, 1918.
- <sup>22</sup>Virginia Health Bulletin, "How to Prevent Spanish Gripe or Influenza," October 1918, contained in the Augusta County Historical Society Archives.
- <sup>23</sup>Various Staunton newspaper articles, fall 1918.
- <sup>24</sup>Quarantine Notice. *Staunton Morning Leader*, Front Page, October 10, 1918.
- <sup>25</sup>*Western State Annual Report*, 1919. Information provided by Kim Burns, September 2018.
- <sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>27</sup>*Virginia Guide* newspaper. November 1, 1918. Information supplied by Mary Kraus, October 2018.
- <sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup>Quarantine Lifted by the Board of Health, *Staunton Morning Leader*, Front Page, October 31, 1918.
- <sup>32</sup>*Staunton Daily Leader*, October 9, 1918.
- <sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>34</sup>Bessie Hailey, *The Personal Journal of Bessie Hailey, October 17, 1900-February 1, 1986*, provided by Hailey's granddaughter, Vera Hailey in an email August 4, 2018.
- <sup>35</sup>Staunton newspaper, November 5, 1918.
- <sup>36</sup>Thornrose Cemetery (Staunton, Va.) burial records, 1917-1919. Transcribed by Nancy Sorrells, September 2018.
- <sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>44</sup>Staunton newspaper article.
- <sup>45</sup>Staunton newspaper article.
- <sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup>Kolata, Flu, 86.
- <sup>49</sup>Kolata, 86.
- <sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 86.
- <sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 109.
- <sup>52</sup>Jennifer Latson, "What Made the Spanish Flu So Deadly," Time.com, March 11, 2015, <http://time.com/3731745/spanish-flu-history/>.

# Hugh Bell Sproul: A Legacy of Community Leadership in the early twentieth century

By Lucinda L. Cooke

*Lucinda Cooke has a master's degree in public history and historic architecture from the University of San Diego. Since moving to Staunton, she became a volunteer with the Augusta County Historical Society and has been able to turn her life-long passion for old cemeteries into one of the Society's most popular programs, "Conversations from the Grave: Meet the Residents of Thornrose Cemetery." Through her research and scripts, and use of local acting talent, Lucinda has brought back to life (briefly) some of the most interesting and infamous individuals who have figured prominently in our region's history. Hugh Bell Sproul made his first appearance in the September 2018 program. He is one of a group of civic-minded business leaders whose vision, hard work, and foresight contributed to the growth and prosperity of Staunton, Augusta County, and the Commonwealth of Virginia. There are many such leaders who have made Thornrose their final resting place. Look for their stories as they unfold in future Bulletins.*

On September 6, 1929, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* featured a front page article that would shock many throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia and beyond. The headline read: "Hugh Sproul Falls Dead at Staunton." Similarly, *The Staunton News-Leader* reported: "Hugh B. Sproul, Fair Official, Dies Suddenly." His death at fifty-five stunned everyone who knew him. Only the day before, Hugh Bell Sproul appeared to be the picture of good health when he met with the secretary of the Staunton Fair Association, C.B. Ralston, for an inspection and conference with the managers of the midway shows. Sproul planned to spend the day at the fairgrounds where the fair was currently taking place. Seventeen years earlier, Sproul had been one of the organizers of the Shenandoah Valley (Staunton) Fair Association and had served as its president ever since. *The Staunton News-Leader* indicated that temperatures soared into the nineties that day and yet "Mr. Sproul seemed to hasten, walking at a more rapid pace than was his custom. Most probably, it was here that he over-exerted himself." As he stood on the midway in conversation with Ralston and others, "Mr.



Sproul collapsed. Alarmed of course, those with him believed that he had suffered nothing more serious than a faint, induced by his exertions and the heat, at the instant not sensing the truth." Friends and fair workers later noted that all afternoon Sproul had seemed unusually energetic, offering hearty greetings and comments to all whose path he crossed. Unable to rouse him, fair officials called for an ambulance and in "what probably was the most rapid drive ever made through Staunton streets, he was taken to the King's Daughters' Hospital . . . but was beyond aid when he arrived there." Dr. J. Fairfax Fulton officially pronounced Hugh Bell Sproul dead. He was survived by a wife and six children.

Sproul's passing left a void in the community. As a respected business leader in both Staunton and Augusta County, his influence extended well beyond the borders of the region to include opportunities as diverse as subsidiary interests in the coal industry, the possibility of a future in state politics, and an appointment to the State Highway Commission. Upon Sproul's death, Commissioner, Henry G. Shirley said: "I am greatly shocked to hear of the death of Mr. Sproul. A man of sound judgment and sterling qualities, he was one of the most valuable members of the State Highway Commission, and I relied upon him greatly. His passing means a severe loss to Virginia."<sup>1</sup>

Hugh Sproul's stature in the community came at a time when Staunton was characterized by growth in many sectors. The city's building boom during the latter part of the nineteenth century, through the 1920s, can be easily seen today by simply walking the downtown city streets which have been preserved to reflect this prosperous era. The transformation from a small rural town to a bustling city and center for commerce, created an ideal atmosphere for men like Sproul who recognized and took advantage of the business opportunities afforded by this city on the rise.

Sproul was born in Augusta County on November 12, 1873, the youngest of Archibald Alexander (1831-1899) and Eugenia Emeline Bumgardner Sproul's (1840-1894) nine children. The family lived at Locust Grove, near Middlebrook. Sproul's father came from a long line of Scotch-Irish settlers who migrated to the region in the mid-eighteenth century. There were several ancestral lines of Sprouls who appeared about the same time, but connections between them are not definitive. We do know that Archibald Alexander Sproul was the grandson of early settler William Sproul who arrived in Virginia at least by 1756. There is no evidence regarding his exact birth date, place of origin, other relatives, or when he arrived in the





*This fine illustration of the Locust Gove home was drawn by local artist, Joe Nutt for his book, Historic Houses of Augusta County, Virginia, 2007. Captain John Sproul and his wife, Matilda King Scott, occupied the home until their death. Title then passed to their son, Archibald Alexander Sproul and his wife, Eugenia Bumgardner.*

colonies, but we can trace his line forward to the present day. William married twice and produced fifteen children, five with his first wife, Jane, and ten with his second wife, Susanna.<sup>2</sup>

William lived in at least three locations in Augusta County. First, he acquired 168 acres in the upper Cowpasture River (now Highland County).<sup>3</sup> He and his wife, Jane, lived here until 1761 when he sold the land and obtained another two hundred acres about twenty-two miles farther south along the Cowpasture River near Millboro Springs (now Bath County). In 1772 that land was sold. In the meantime, William and Jane had relocated to what would become the Augusta County Sproul family homestead of Locust Grove. Today, the homestead is situated about half-way between Staunton and Lexington along Rt. 252. This land, purchased in 1765, comprised some 470 acres at the headwaters of Moffatts Creek. Although never confirmed, "family tradition holds that the Indian uprisings and attacks in the Cowpasture River area were the reason for William and his family moving to the relative security of the Shenandoah Valley."<sup>4</sup> Without livestock or crops, William demonstrated his

pioneer spirit and set to work. He constructed a log cabin (which no longer exists) and planned out a farm for his growing family. Soon after Jane's death, William remarried, this time to Susanna Ewing. They would have ten more children. Their son, John, would later build a brick home about 1806, the same year both his parents, William and Susanna passed away. This home and property remains the Sproul family farm to this day.<sup>5</sup>

Only two of William Sproul's sons remained in Augusta County. William (Squire Billy) and Captain John stayed and raised families. John and his wife, Matilda, built the aforementioned brick home in 1806, while Squire Billy and his wife, Esher, constructed a brick home with plaster facing in 1804. Although in sad neglect, this unoccupied house still stands. When Squire Billy passed in 1837, his children left the area, leaving John as the only second generation Sproul in Augusta County. Captain John and Matilda, had two sons, one of which died during the Civil War. That left Archibald Alexander as the only remaining third generation Sproul in the area.<sup>6</sup>

As the youngest of Archibald and Eugenia Sproul's children, Hugh Bell Sproul enjoyed a happy childhood playing with his siblings and attending local country schools. He also learned a good deal about farming, skills that would come in handy later in life. In 1891, the time came for Hugh to attend college. His father sent him to Washington and Lee



*William (Squire Billy) was the second of the two Sproul brothers who remained in Augusta County, built a home and raised a family. Billy and his wife, Esther, built their home of brick with plaster about three miles from John and Eugenia. By 1858, all of Billy's family had left the area, leaving only Billy and John as the remaining children of William Sproul. Today the home is in sad repair.*

*Hugh Bell Sproul about the time he entered Washington and Lee University in 1891. His fraternity pin (Phi Gamma Delta) can be seen just to the right of his tie.*



University. This was the first time Sproul had lived away from home. He quickly adapted to campus life, joining the Phi Gamma Delta fraternity, and thoroughly immersing himself in a variety of activities.<sup>7</sup> Regretfully, his studies suffered in favor of more undignified extracurricular pursuits. This resulted in a stern letter sent to his father and Hugh's dismissal from school by President Custis Lee. The letter pointedly stated that it would not be a wise use of money to allow Hugh to pursue his studies.<sup>8</sup> What words were exchanged by Hugh and his father when he returned home is unknown, however, Hugh's college years ended by 1893.

Not surprising, Hugh Sproul's young adult years were spent on the family farm, raising cattle and horses. Young Sproul drove cattle on horseback from West Virginia across Great North Mountain on the Parkersburg Pike, then through Buffalo Gap and Swoope. On these cattle drives, he became familiar with the farms he passed along the way, some of which he would eventually purchase in the 1910s and 1920s for each of his children. These included the Bell Farm, the Meyerly Farm, and the Hoover Farm, also known as Wheatlands. He often stopped to rest at Wheatlands, a beautiful antebellum brick home built in 1813. The home still stands today and remains an occupied residence.<sup>9</sup> The Sproul family also raised crops, including rye for the Bumgardner distillery. The production of whiskey became a lucrative business in Augusta County during the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

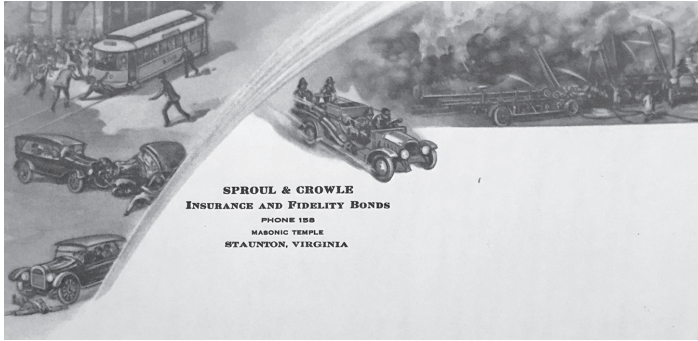
*When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, Sproul immediately volunteered and joined as a private in the West Augusta Guard.*



During these years, Sproul also took time out to enroll in a course at the Baltimore Business College and he established an insurance business in Staunton.<sup>11</sup> This endeavor was cut short by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. He volunteered and enlisted as a private in Company K, Second Virginia Infantry of the West Augusta Guard, but never got any closer to Cuba than Jacksonville, Florida, where his company trained.<sup>12</sup> An interesting side story provided by several of Sproul's grandchildren told about a comrade of Sproul's who was injured in the war and was returned to a Florida hospital to recover. The hospital had a dreadful reputation, so Sproul smuggled his friend in the "dead wagon" with other bodies to prevent him from being admitted to a facility where many soldiers entered, but few left alive.<sup>13</sup> While still in Florida, Sproul requested and received an early discharge so that he could return home to handle business demands. Some Stauntonians took a dim view of his early discharge before the war had officially ended, but, in fact, peace had been declared just prior to his return home.<sup>14</sup>

Sproul resumed his insurance business and formed a partnership with John Crowle, called Sproul and Crowle. In 1901, he married Agnes Erskine Miller over strong objections from her father, J. Mason Miller. At that time, Agnes lived in the home, Eastwood, located near the entrance to the Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind. She had been raised by her uncle and aunt, M. Erskine Miller and Harriette Echols Miller, following the death of her mother in 1884. When her father remarried and bought a





*Following the Spanish-American War, Sproul formed a partnership with John Crowle and opened an insurance company called Sproul and Crowle. The amusing letterhead seems to indicate they specialized in disasters and personal injury cases.*

nearby home in Staunton, Agnes preferred to live at Eastwood with her siblings and grandfather. Three months prior to her marriage to Hugh Sproul, she received a blistering letter from her father. "Your note was handed me to day while at my dinner. But my disappointment is beyond expression. . . My dear child, I can imagine nothing you might do that would be more disappoint[ing] to me than the decision you have reached and of which you advise me in your note to day. . . Not only your family are disappointed but many of my friends. If the man was in any way your equal – or were he a man of high moral type I might school myself to simply accept the situation. But you tell me you have determined to marry him . . ." <sup>15</sup>

Months earlier, Hugh Sproul had asked Agnes' father for her hand in marriage. He would not consent. Her father's feelings did not keep them apart. Following their marriage, they lived in an apartment on East Beverley Street. Sproul's business was doing well and they could afford to hire a servant to come in and cook meals. They lived well and immediately began plans to build Braeburn, a large, handsome home designed by the successful architectural firm of T.J. Collins and Sons. <sup>16</sup> They enjoyed a happy marriage and raised a family of six children, three boys and three girls. The couple was well liked and respected. As for Agnes' father, Mason Miller, he died of a stroke a few months after the marriage. There being no male heir of legal age to inherit his estate, in a great stroke of irony, the family business fell to Hugh Sproul to manage. He not only assumed control of the business, but would successfully manage it for the next twenty-eight years, richly benefitting all of Mason Miller's heirs. <sup>17</sup>

In the meantime, Braeburn was completed in 1902. The Braeburn property in the early 1900s was actually a farm and encompassed acreage that extended from the property line of the Virginia School for the Deaf





*In 1901, Hugh Sproul and Agnes Miller married over strong objections from her father, J. Mason Miller. Agnes can be seen in the center of the wedding party. Sproul is just to the left. Only a few months later, Mason Miller died of a stroke.*

and the Blind, across what is today Statler Boulevard, and then extended to the far end of East Beverley Street. Agnes had inherited this farm in 1896 from her uncle, M. Erskine Miller. At his death, Agnes' father, Mason Miller inherited the family business, which included holdings in coal and real estate, but not the Braeburn property. That remained in Agnes' hands and was the reason that she and Hugh could begin the design and construction of their home almost immediately after their marriage.<sup>18</sup>

Sproul ran the Erskine Company as the chief operator for the coal mines on the New River, in West Virginia. Although he spent a good deal of his time managing the family's coal interests, he became increasingly prominent in his own community of Staunton. During the 1910s and 1920s, he served for fifteen years on the Board of Directors for Valley National Bank. Under the Farm Loan Act of 1916, Sproul organized the Shenandoah Valley Joint Stock Line, acting as president for many years.<sup>19</sup> Previously mentioned was his involvement in the organization of the Shenandoah Valley Fair Association, serving as its president until his death in 1929.<sup>20</sup> He was appointed to the State Highway Commission and was a key figure in the development of many roads throughout the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>21</sup> His prominence caught the attention of those in political circles who suggested he might consider running for governor in the 1925 election. Sproul had



*Designed by the firm of T.J. Collins & Sons, Braeburn was completed in 1902 and would remain home to Hugh and Agnes Sproul throughout their marriage. The home was named after the Braeburn Farm, which Agnes inherited from her uncle, M. Erskine Miller. It became a profitable dairy and draft horse operation. This pen and ink drawing of Braeburn was done by Joe Nutt in 2005 for his book, Historic Houses of Staunton, Virginia, 2008.*

been experiencing chest pains. His cousin, Dr. Morrison Hutcheson, advised him not to run.<sup>22</sup> Sproul politely backed off and encouraged Senator Harry Byrd to run. Byrd did run and won. However, a year earlier, Sproul did enter politics as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in New York City. He was eager to see his former college mate at Washington and Lee, John W. Davis, win the nomination. He did win, but lost the presidential election to Republican Calvin Coolidge.<sup>23</sup>

When the United States became embroiled in World War I, Sproul chaired three Liberty Loan Drives and chaired the local War Work Council.<sup>24</sup> He was a member of the Fuel Administrators' Advisory Board of Augusta County, and served as a Food Administrator for Virginia from 1918-1919.<sup>25</sup> His boundless energy also extended to charitable causes. As a member of the YMCA, he chaired the committee that built the organization's first home in Staunton (currently the Clocktower Building). He served on the Board of Trustees for Mary Baldwin Seminary, later Mary Baldwin College (now Mary Baldwin University), and as a trustee for Washington and Lee University. A member of First Presbyterian Church, Sproul was nominated to become an elder of the church and also served as treasurer. As a Mason, he became both a Knight Templar and a Shriner.<sup>26</sup>

*Sproul was a proud father and loved all six of his children – three boys and three girls. Harriette, seen here, was the first-born in 1902.*



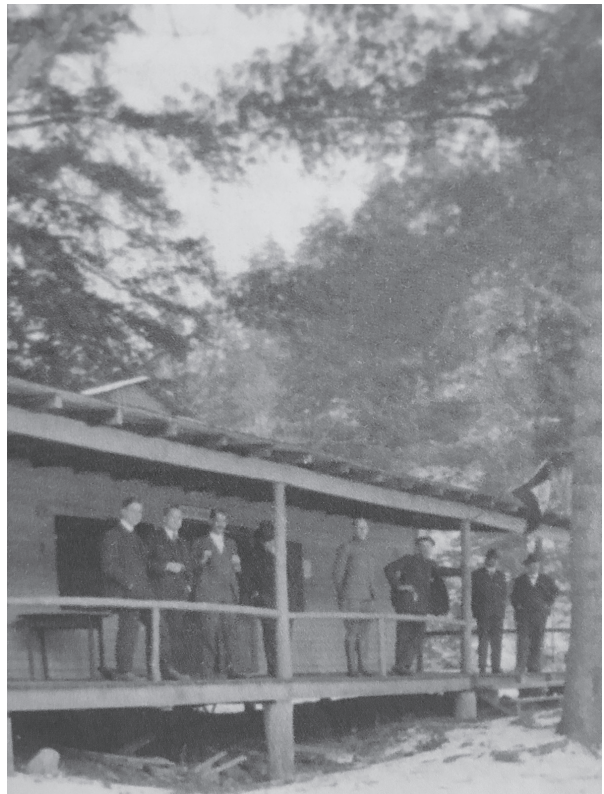
*Hugh and Agnes pose in front of their Braeburn home ca. 1910.*

As a father, he always made time for his six children. One of his grandchildren recently remarked: “My mother remembered him as a loving father who was not adverse to looking after his young children. For example, on Sunday afternoons he would take his, then five, young children . . . on walks around Braeburn . . . to give Ma {grandmother Agnes} a break . . . As they walked, my mother in pigtails, the youngest child, would lag behind, and Pa (grandfather Hugh) would call to her, *Come on Pigtail*, thus her nickname, Piggy, which stuck with her for the rest of her life.” Although Sproul was certainly an astute businessman, he always radiated warmth around his wife and children. Sproul had a great sense of humor and enjoyed a good time. During his courtship with Agnes Miller, it was humor and laughter that attracted her to Hugh and made them a good love match.<sup>27</sup>

Over the years, the Braeburn farm became a very profitable enterprise as a retail dairy and draft horse operation. Sproul would pasture his draft horse foals on the steepest field to build strength and endurance.<sup>28</sup> Although Sproul and his wife, Agnes, loved their farm, they also enjoyed taking their children to a hunting camp near Deerfield. Called the Hut, the structure had originally been built in 1911 on land leased from the Virginia Mining and Improvement Corporation. The buildings on the land were jointly owned by eight Staunton business leaders, including Hugh Sproul. The Sproul family loved the nearby swimming hole, but Sproul was not fond of swimming, so one day he walked up to a knoll, looked at the view, and decided to construct a camp of his own. In 1920, he bought sixty acres that included the land and a house. By 1921, construction was underway and "Camp," as it was called, took shape, using native pine lumber. Camp cost about two thousand dollars to build. A caretaker was hired and he lived in the nearby house that was already on the property.<sup>29</sup>

Camp became a favorite getaway not only for the family, but also for friends who enjoyed hunting with Sproul. One of these hunting weekends made local and state history, bringing together several famous individuals,

*Sproul was a hard-working man, but recreation was important also. He was among eight business leaders who owned a place called The Hut and used it as their base camp whenever they drove out to the Deerfield area to hunt grouse. In 1921 he built a nearby camp for his family to enjoy. Quite simply, he called it Camp.*







*Camp was a popular place for Sproul friends. Many well-known politicians, industry leaders, and celebrities visited Camp. One such celebrity was Charles Lindbergh who arrived with a number of dignitaries in November, 1927. Lindbergh did not fly into Deerfield in the famous "Spirit of St. Louis." The photo seen here was a publicity shot autographed by Lindbergh and presented to Sproul as a token of his visit.*

one of which included Charles Lindbergh who had flown his legendary transatlantic flight only six months earlier. The year was 1927. Philanthropist, businessman, and diplomat, Harry Guggenheim decided to give his good friend, Virginia governor, Harry Byrd, a call and suggested they take off for a weekend of hunting grouse. Guggenheim had been Lindbergh's patron and had financed the famous flight. Knowing that Lindbergh was exhausted from the press coverage and swarms of adoring fans wherever he went, he invited Lindbergh to accompany them to Sproul's camp for what he hoped would be a peaceful retreat. Lindbergh flew to Richmond to pick up his hunting party. In order to land safely, a fence was opened on a nearby farm between two pasture fields. White bedsheets were spread out so Lindbergh would know where to land. Keeping Lindbergh's arrival a secret was impossible. By the time he landed, the fields were filled with several hundred spectators.<sup>30</sup> *The Staunton News-Leader* reported:

A shout went up from the crowd as someone cried, "Here He Comes," and the plane could be seen soaring like a great eagle over the low mountain range . . . All eyes were literally glued upon the machine until the youthful pilot had come gracefully to earth. Mr. Sproul was the first to reach the machine and greet his guests . . . Colonel Lindbergh remained





*Hugh and Agnes are seen in the top photo seated on the stair railing at Edgewood. Agnes always said that what attracted her to Hugh was his sense of humor. He could always make her laugh. They are all smiles in this photo. Edgewood was the home Agnes lived in with her aunt and uncle after her mother died. The home has undergone significant changes since the turn of the twentieth century and is now known as Bradford Hall on the campus of VSDB. This pen and ink illustration is by Joe Nutt, who drew many significant homes in Staunton for his book, *Historic Homes of Staunton, Virginia*, 2008.*

*Hugh Bell Sproul passed away on September 6, 1929 at age fifty-five.*



at the stick at the glass-covered cab door and, one by one, the following emerged: Henry Shirley, chairman of the State Highway Commission, Harry F. Guggenheim, and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. Each wore the khaki cap belonging to a hunting outfit.”

Hugh Sproul continued to live an active life right up to the day he died. He had kept his heart condition a secret, known only to his doctor. When he collapsed at the fairgrounds on September 25, 1929, the shock was profoundly felt by everyone throughout the state. The Rev. Abel Fraser, D.D. conducted the funeral service at First Presbyterian Church in downtown Staunton. *The Staunton News-Leader* stated “the large gathering of people from all over the state of Virginia attested to Mr. Sproul’s popularity among the most prominent citizens of the Old Dominion.” Governor Harry Byrd attended, as did Washington and Lee president, Dr. Henry Louis Smith. Many prominent leaders representing Sproul’s diverse business interests came to pay their respects. Following the church service, a graveside service was conducted at Thornrose Cemetery by Dr. Fraser. He concluded with the hymn “Abide by Me.” Perhaps the one most devastated by Sproul’s death was his wife, Agnes. She lived until 1966. Granddaughter, Agnes (Missy) Shives noted that her mother told her not to ask questions about her grandfather to her grandmother because remembering him made her so sad.<sup>31</sup>

Hugh Bell Sproul enjoyed a life well lived, surrounded by family, friends, and business associates who both loved and admired him. Perhaps Governor Harry Floyd Byrd said it best: "I am deeply shocked and distressed to hear of the death of my friend, Hugh Sproul. I knew him intimately, and no man in Virginia ever had a more patriotic desire to advance the interests of the State . . . I feel a deep personal loss, as I was proud to be numbered among his close friends."<sup>32</sup>

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>"Hugh Sproul Falls Dead At Staunton," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 5, 1929, Sec. 1, page 1, col. 3.

<sup>2</sup>William W. Sproul, III, *The Sproul Family of Early Augusta County, Virginia: The Middlebrook William Sproul Family*, November 2, 2010, 6-17.

<sup>3</sup>Francis Fauquier, Esquire, Lieut. Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Colony and Dominion at Williamsburg, 1759 Land Grant to William Sproul – 168 acres on the Cowpasture River, Virginia Land Patent Book, 33, 556, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>4</sup>*Op Cit.*, 30.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>7</sup>*The Staunton News-Leader*, September 6, 1929, 2.

<sup>8</sup>Interview with George Sproul (Hugh Bell Sproul's grandson), Staunton, Virginia, May 4, 2018.

<sup>9</sup>Agnes (Missy) Bush Shives, *Some of My Impressions of Pa, My Maternal Grandfather, Hugh Bell Sproul*, 1, May 2018.

<sup>10</sup>Interview with Hugh Bell Sproul, III, (Hugh Bell Sproul's grandson), Staunton, Virginia, May 4, 2018.

<sup>11</sup>Entry from *History of Virginia*, vol. VI, Virginia Biography, published by the American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1924.

<sup>12</sup>Short biography of Hugh Bell Sproul, written by George Sproul, Staunton, Virginia, July 2005.

<sup>13</sup>Interview with Sproul grandchildren, Staunton, Virginia, May 4, 2018.

<sup>14</sup>*Op.Cit.*, July 2005.

<sup>15</sup>Excerpt from letter to Agnes Miller, Staunton, Virginia, October 17, 1900. Sproul's son, A. Erskine Sproul noted that he had an earthy sense of humor and sometimes told an off-color joke. There were also a few people who were critical of Sproul's early release from the army at the close of the Spanish-American War. One such individual was Col. Lawrence Peyton who had remained in the army until everyone had received their final discharge. He ran into Sproul on the street and made a derogatory comment about his early discharge. This resulted in a fistfight. There is also the fact that Sproul was kicked out of Washington and Lee for poor behavior. J. Mason Miller may have been aware of all or any of these facts and that may have played into his very negative feelings about Sproul.

Sproul's granddaughter, Agnes Bush Shives also noted in *Some of My Impressions of Pa, My Maternal Grandfather, Hugh Bell Sproul*, May 2018, that it was Sproul's fun-loving nature that caused Mason Miller to regard Sproul as a frivolous, superficial individual.

<sup>16</sup>Blueprints and drawings for Braeburn can be found in the architectural collection held by Historic Staunton Foundation, Staunton, Virginia. These are early enough to have been done by T.J. Collins, but could also have been the work of Collins' sons. They have the firm's signature, but no individual signature.

<sup>17</sup>Note from George Sproul that accompanied a copy of the letter J. Mason Miller sent to his daughter, Agnes Miller, Staunton, Virginia, October 17, 1900.

<sup>18</sup>Interview with Sproul grandchildren, Hugh Bell Sproul, III, George Sproul, Harrison May, and Agnes Bush Shives, Staunton, Virginia, May 4, 2018.

<sup>19</sup>Entry from *History of Virginia*, vol. VI, Virginia Biography, published by the American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1924.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.* The Shenandoah Valley Fair Association started with three thousand dollars in capital. Through 1924, the association never re-financed. During its existence it paid out more than one hundred thousand dollars in premiums.

<sup>21</sup>In the minutes of the meeting of the State Highway Commission, held in Richmond, Virginia, on October 27, 1927, Sproul moved and seconded approval of two construction contracts. The former for

a section of Route 29, north of Gloucester Point, and the latter for Route 10, west of Radford.

<sup>22</sup>In George Sproul's short biography of his grandfather, July 2005, he notes the heart condition and the advice of Hugh Sproul's cousin and physician that running for the governor's office would put too great a strain on his heart. Had Sproul run and won, he would have passed away while in office.

<sup>23</sup>*The Staunton News-Leader*, September 6, 1929, 2.

<sup>24</sup>In notes sent to family members and Lucinda Cooke, May 6, 2018, Harrison May, another Sproul grandchild, records the following story. Hugh Sproul was Director for War Production in Virginia. His job was to assist with mobilization of the war economy. In 1917, Herbert Hoover, Director of War Production for the United States, visited Staunton and stayed the night at Braeburn. Sproul left for the office early, followed later by Hoover who was driven to the office by Sproul's daughter, Eugenia, age thirteen. She drove the family's Franklin auto and nearly scared Hoover to death while taking the hairpin turn in the driveway. Hoover did manage to live through this harrowing experience.

<sup>25</sup>*Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 6, 1929, 2.

<sup>26</sup>*The Staunton News-Leader*, September 6, 1929, 2.

<sup>27</sup>Agnes "Missy" Bush Shives, *Some of My Impressions of "Pa," My Maternal Grandfather*, Hugh Bell Sproul, May 2018.

<sup>28</sup>Interview with Hugh Bell Sproul III, May 2018.

<sup>29</sup>George Sproul, *Camp Origins*, 2006.

<sup>30</sup>"Lone Eagle Seeks Rest and Sport in Virginia Mountains," *The Staunton News-Leader*, November 17, 1927, 1.

<sup>31</sup>Agnes "Missy" Bush Shives, *Some of My Impressions of "Pa," My Maternal Grandfather*, Hugh Bell Sproul, May 2018. Missy stated the following: I've gained my impressions of him {Sproul} mostly from my mother, Agnes (Piggy) Sproul Bush, and from information related and recorded by my uncle, Dr. A. Erskine {Erse} Sproul. Piggy and Erse were the two youngest of Pa's six children. My grandmother, Ma, never talked to us about her deceased husband, and my mother cautioned us not to ask about Pa because it made Ma "sad."

<sup>32</sup>"Hugh Sproul Falls Dead At Staunton," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 6, 1929, 1.

# The Fannie Thompson House of Greenville

By David McCaskey  
and Nancy Sorrells

*Editors' Note: David McCaskey, owner of the Fannie Thompson House in Greenville, and historian Nancy Sorrells teamed up to write the National Register nomination for this house that McCaskey is restoring. The house was officially placed on the Virginia and National Register of Historic Places in the spring of 2018.*

The significance of the Fannie Thompson House is that it is the sole unmodified dwelling remaining in what was once a thriving and segregated section of the village of Greenville located “on the hill across the river.” The cluster of cabins was part of a neighborhood of newly-freed slaves. That community continued as a viable, segregated neighborhood of working class African Americans throughout the Jim Crow period. Civil Rights and the integration of schools as well as the out migration of African Americans to nearby areas offering better housing and employment and to the northern cities collapsed the black population of the village and the surrounding countryside. When the last resident (Sue Porter) of the Fannie Thompson house died in the 1970s, the neighborhood ceased to exist. The house has additional significance as an example of the transition of a basic one-room log cabin into a house with a frame second story and two-room addition, better meeting the needs of the Thompson/Ross family as their economic condition improved early in the twentieth century.

## **The village of Greenville**

The village of Greenville, on Rt. 11 (once called the Valley Pike and before that the Great Wagon Road) in southeastern Augusta County, was platted in 1794, the first community mapped after the county seat of Staunton.

By the mid-nineteenth century the prosperous village, bisected by the South River, was home to a number of businesses and industrial complexes including a large mill, a stave factory, a tin shop, and a tannery. Before the Civil War, the bulk of the residential and business development was east of what today is U.S. Rt. 11. The roadbed of Rt. 11 today was the back street of Greenville until the middle of the twentieth century. The actual Valley Pike was Main Street in Greenville.





*The Fannie Thompson house, top, as seen in 1980 when Ann McCleary surveyed it for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. The bottom photograph shows the house in 2018. (top, VDHR, bottom Nancy Sorrells)*

From its inception, Greenville has been an important commercial center located in the southern end of the county along the north-south Great Wagon Road, later the Valley Turnpike. Because it was always a transportation center (including being a toll collection point on the Valley Turnpike), it was a stopping point for travelers, both famous and not so famous, in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Before the Civil War it was also an important crossroads for the east-west Howardsville Turnpike. As a consequence, Greenville has also always had stables, taverns, and lodging to accommodate those travelers and has had a need for a residential working class population to support the various business and industrial establishments.

The Fannie Thompson house and its associated African-American community developed during Greenville's renewed prosperity after the Civil War. In that last quarter of the nineteenth century, the village reached its zenith because of the arrival of the B&O railroad. Ann McCleary in her cultural resources study of Augusta County described the village thusly:

By the time of the Hotchkiss atlas (1885) and Peyton's history (1882), Greenville had a population of about 250 people and was "prosperous and thriving" (Peyton, p. 267) Peyton further describes the "churches, shops, flouring mill, resident physicians, several stores, etc." and makes mention of the Shenandoah Valley railroad and the "sprightly weekly paper" called the 'Greenville Banner.'" The map of Greenville in the Hotchkiss atlas shows the development along the older main road as well as the "back road." In addition, a sizeable black community had developed on the north edge of the town near Mt. Ed. [sic] Baptist Church, along the stretch labeled "cabins," as well as south of town near the Col. Methodist Church" (Hotchkiss).<sup>1</sup>

McCleary continues: "After 1885, the town grew further to the west between the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the old Back Road. [now Rt. 11] Most of the houses in this community date to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century."<sup>2</sup> The conclusion of the Civil War brought significant changes to the county and those were reflected in the village of Greenville. The end of the Civil War and the subsequent passage of the thirteenth amendment ended slavery in America. In Augusta County, twenty percent of the population in 1861 was enslaved, but the manifestation of slavery in the county before the war was that of small farms where one or two slaves lived together with a white farm family rather than living in large quarters as developed in the plantation system of eastern Virginia. In cases where there were separate slave housing units before the Civil War, they were often small buildings that sometimes doubled as outdoor kitchens, but only rarely were there "slave quarters." The result of this

sort of slavery, where slave hiring was the dominant labor system, was that African-American families were separated for most of the year rather than living together in large slave communities. Husbands and wives were often owned by different people and many times they worked and lived separately on different farms.

With freedom came the opportunity for families to live together under one roof, some for the first time ever, and across the county small clusters of simple African-American houses started appearing within communities. McCleary, in her cultural and architectural study of Augusta County, describes these new communities:

As the 19<sup>th</sup> century progressed, one-room houses became increasingly associated with people at the lower end of the economic scale. More prosperous farmers often enlarged their earlier one-room houses, integrating them into the popular I-house design or using them as ells for a new house. For the less wealthy, one-room houses continued to provide adequate housing into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many of these late 19<sup>th</sup>-century dwellings served as tenant houses or for other workers.... In these situations, these dwellings often housed black families.<sup>3</sup>

She goes on to describe those houses:

"...they often built one-room houses after they were freed. In many of the small towns and villages, black communities evolved on the outskirts in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Hotchkiss maps often describe their houses as 'cabins.' A few of these 'cabins' which survive at Greenville began as one-room houses in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century."<sup>4</sup>

The abolishment of slavery also gave African Americans the right to worship freely without white oversight. As a result, African-American churches usually sprang up in close proximity to these new clusters of black homes. In the village of Greenville, a neighborhood of freed families arose to the back (or west) of the northern portion of the village, west of the Valley Pike and on the north bank of the South River. Their church was called Mt. Ead. The close proximity of Mt. Ead and the African-American community to the South River meant that the river came to be a favorite spot for religious services for the congregants of both Mt. Ead and the African-American church at the south end of the village. A photograph in John Brake's *History of Greenville* shows such a religious event occurring in the river just below what would have been the cluster of cabins that included the Fannie Thompson house. The photograph corroborates the short announcement in the May 23, 1883, issue of the Greenville newspaper: "The colored Methodists will have a 'dip' Sunday."<sup>5</sup>

McCleary also described the typical cluster of the homes of the newly-freed families around their newly built churches:

*Mt. Ead, taken by Ann McCleary in 1980 when she surveyed Greenville for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.*



Churches usually formed the focus of rural black communities in Augusta County. Scattered across the county, these churches reveal the presence of current black communities, now considerably shrunken as blacks have moved to the cities. Occasionally, the church is all that remains at the sites of these 19<sup>th</sup>-century communities after their residents have died or moved away and most of the houses have been razed. The Hotchkiss atlas of 1885 documents the location of most of these communities and illustrates the size and arrangement of buildings, usually a cluster of houses or cabins around the church. Some were located on the outskirts of small country towns such as Greenville or Middlebrook; others along the railroad tracks, particularly west of Staunton; while the rest were dispersed throughout the countryside.<sup>6</sup>

At almost the same time as this new community was developing in Greenville, a second event occurred that ensured that the village would continue to expand to the west. Plans were made for the Valley Railroad – a new north-south railroad that would become the B&O railroad. It would parallel the Valley Pike. In Greenville the tracks were laid and a depot was built just west of the Valley Pike. Within a few years the village had doubled in size with most of the new growth coming to the west and mostly on the south side of the river. Fine Victorian houses as well as hotels, doctors' offices, and a new Baptist Church for the white community were built in the village addition. Just across the narrow river to the north on the rocky hillside, the African-American community also prospered with ready access to work on the railroad as well as the many businesses and industries located along the river and on the western outskirts of town. The cabins and several African-American businesses, including a blacksmith shop, lined the road that was called the Staunton Road and extended north along the west side of the Valley Pike as well. (The Old Staunton Road now dead-



ends because of the construction of I-81). Just to the north of the cabins was a new African-American church, Mt. Ead, which was the heart of the community. The cemetery for the church stretched south and fronted on the Staunton Road, a few hundred feet west of Fannie Thompson's front porch. The 1885 Hotchkiss map shows twenty-one cabins, the blacksmith shop, and Mt. Ead.<sup>7</sup>

That the village, filled with residents both black and white, was growing in the decades following the Civil War is evident from the pages of *The Greenville Banner*, a four-page weekly newspaper that was published there in the 1880s. The publication reported on the number of white and colored schools and students in Augusta County (February 2, 1884), the number of white and colored infirm in a measles outbreak in the Greenville (June 4, 1883), white and colored voter registrations in the village (October 24, 1884), and white and colored marriages in Augusta County in 1882 (January 10, 1883). When averaged together by race this reporting creates the basis for concluding that African Americans constituted 28.4 percent of the Greenville population at that time.<sup>8</sup> Because these figures predate the establishment of rural free delivery, populations identified with Greenville in both the news reports and the Freedman's Bureau records would probably have lived within walking distance of the village post office.

The African-American community was large enough to support two churches, Mt. Ead Baptist, a short distance north of the Fannie Thompson House, founded 1872, demolished 1992; and Wyman Chapel, AME, located at the extreme south end of the village, founded 1874, demolished 1987.<sup>9</sup>

On the southwest edge of the village, a two-room frame building was constructed on an acre lot in 1882. This was the area school for African Americans. Although the building was not constructed until 1882, there was a black school on the spot as early as 1871. The school continued to operate until the spring of 1938 at which time it was consolidated with several other area black schools from Mint Spring and Middlebrook.<sup>10</sup> The November 28, 1883, issue of the *The Banner* reported that the "Colored School" on the Lexington Road<sup>11</sup> past the Wyman Chapel had a teacher, an assistant, and forty scholars.<sup>12</sup> *The Banner* regularly reported the schedule of worship and events at both the African-American and white churches and births, deaths, and marriages for both races. Brief pieces under the "Local" heading of *The Banner* also reference the location of African-American residences and occurrences. Noted were a fire "the small house of 'Aunt' Lucy Diggs, on the road beyond the Co. Bridge and near the RR was in the embrace of



the fire fiend....the loss falls heavily on this old colored woman.”<sup>13</sup> and a fight “A Colored Staunton shoemaker has been living with a woman who ‘took up’ with someone else ...came to get his things and met him on the hill across the river and a fight ensued.”<sup>14</sup>

The Freedman’s Bureau Record of Marriages in Augusta County, Va., documents the recognition of forty-two marriages between African-Americans before 1866 for which the registrants gave their address as Greenville. That same document reflects that there were thirty-one children of those marriages age seventeen or older at the time of registration. Three of the forty-two men listed in that record were blacksmiths, the remainder were farm laborers.<sup>15</sup> Although a small number of freemen would have owned their own farms, the evolution of the African-American labor system from slavery to freedom was a far simpler transition. Before the war, white farm families would have hired a slave from a white owner. An annual contract between the two white men for the labor of the African-American slave would have been drawn up. An annual fee would have been paid to the slave owner and often a suit of clothes was given to the slave. After the war these hiring agreements continued in almost identical fashion except the annual fee and the suit of clothes all went to the freedman. The other difference was that the freedman now lived in his own home with his family and not under the white man’s roof.<sup>16</sup>

Many farm laboring families would have resided on outlying properties, relying on their employers for an opportunity to check the mail, but the need for labor in the forty white households, mill, warehouses adjacent to the railroad, cabinet shop, barber shop and tin shop shown on the Hotchkiss map doubtless required that many African-American households be close, i.e. “across the river.”<sup>17</sup> The African-American working population was not limited to providing labor for enterprises owned by others. There are several mentions in the *The Banner* of “the Colored contractor Simms” engaged in building a mile of the railroad bed near the depot,<sup>18</sup> and mention of a “colored barber” renting a space on Main Street.<sup>19</sup>

The census records cited herein mention a blacksmith working in his own shop in the same group of houses containing the Fannie Thompson house, and in the next generation, a chauffeur working from his own garage. It is possible that Fannie Thompson’s work as a laundress could have been conducted on an independent basis rather than as a laborer in another’s household.

An advertisement for a commissioner’s sale of property in the village characterized Greenville as “An important Depot on the Valley Railroad

and a live business-place.”<sup>20</sup> The Valley Railroad was an extension of the Baltimore and Ohio line up the Shenandoah Valley following the same natural transportation corridor as the Valley Turnpike. Consequently, many of the old remount station towns on the turnpike, such as Mt. Sidney and Greenville, as well as other communities such as Weyers Cave, off the turnpike, benefited from railroad service. Merchants could lessen their transportation costs bringing goods in, and farmers, millers, and manufacturers benefited from faster, less expensive shipment of their production out. Stock pens and warehouses were built near the depot so that livestock could be driven along the roads and straight to the rail depot. Products could also be shipped to and from the depot by wagons. The railroad opened the Baltimore market for the region’s production, and, because the northwest lines crossed in Staunton, it also opened up markets to Richmond. Handling of goods, supplying wood for the engines (the census for 1910 listed Fannie Thompson’s son-in-law as a wood teamster), and maintaining the railroad all provided sources of employment for both races in the laboring class.

This was the community to which Fannie Thompson came to live. Her house, the subject of this nomination, was among the “cabins” that were built here after the war. Fannie Thompson and her descendants were not the first African Americans in the house, but they were the ones who were there for most of the building’s history and they had the most impact on the property, improving it by adding a frame second story and addition and maintaining it through the Jim Crow era and into the time of integration. The significance of the Fannie Thompson House is that it is the sole unmodified dwelling remaining in what was once a thriving and segregated section of the village located “on the hill across the river.” The house and the church cemetery are all that is left from this significant community. The other houses, the church, and the blacksmith shop, several of which were described in McCleary’s 1980 survey, have burned, rotted down, or become so incorporated into another structure as to be unrecognizable. While the church is gone, replaced by the BB&T bank, the cemetery remains, much of it badly overgrown including that portion which fronts on what is now called “Old” Staunton Road, just down from the Fannie Thompson house.

From just after the Civil War until the 1960s and integration, this area was known as Jack’s Hill or simply “the colored” section of the village, or

more pejoratively “Nigger Town.”<sup>21</sup> An editorial in the April 25, 1883, issue of *The Greenville Banner* newspaper described the “unseemly” behavior of the residents in that part of the newly emerging community. “There are a number of colored idlers who almost every night have a dance on one or two porches in the central part of town where, to the music of the banjo, they kick up a great racket, and make the night hideous with their yells, all combining to annoy many of our people. Can our officers not sit down on and end this nuisance?”<sup>22</sup> The August 29, 1883, issue of the same newspaper noted the emergence of the new African-American community: “—On the hill, above the tanyard, a colored man has begun the erection of a house!”<sup>23</sup>

The log portion of the Fannie Thompson House clearly shows what one of the “cabins” was like prior to 1900. The house is also significant in that the present structure provides an un-modernized example of the first addition to a simple cabin, likely accomplished when Fannie Thompson’s son, James Thompson, reached adulthood and had enjoyed a few years of steady employment and when Fannie’s Thompson’s daughter, son-in-law, and grandson moved into the house with Fannie and James. The cabin with its addition was never provided with an individualized water source. Water was carried from a spring located just across the river behind what was, in the twentieth century, a small grocery.<sup>24</sup> That spring as well as rain barrels constituted the household water. (A stack of hoops from successive barrels lies beneath one corner of the kitchen roof). The house was always served by a privy because the rock ledge of the ridge would not support a septic system and made well or cistern digging impractical.

### **Who lived in the cabin?**

Although the house has been identified with the Thompson family because that is who actually lived in it for most of its history, its first resident was not a Thompson. The chain of title for the property is rather tricky, probably because this section of Greenville was poor land not considered important for either residential or business development. Therefore it evolved as a place to erect “cabins” lived in by those members of the community who were less-well-to-do working class citizens of the county (both newly-freed slaves and the lower class white laboring class). The division of lots was haphazard and it appears that no real survey was done of this section of the village until 1903, referred to as “McDonald’s Addition to Greenville.” That survey depicted the area north of the Fannie Thompson house, the lots fronting on Old Staunton Road having been individually divided prior to 1903.

The murky record associated with this part of Greenville is borne out by two articles in *The Banner*. On January 16, 1884, the newspaper reported "A couple of weeks ago it was rumored that a lot of land adjoining Greenville would be held & confiscated to satisfy the demands of a judgment lien given on the property before it was sold to the present owners...a number of Colored persons on the hill across the river bought lots off it, and how they will come up we cannot say at present." The rumor went to a lawsuit that lasted a year, *The Banner* reporting on January 28, 1885, "To be sold – at the December term of the County Court a decree was given for the sale of a number of lots in Greenville, principally owned by Colored people and situated on the hill across the river from the main part of town. It is property formerly owned by Andrew McClure, Dec'd, and the title was not good when the present occupants bought. The decree gives the holders of the land sixty days from December Court to pay for it, after which it will be sold for the claim of some \$700."<sup>25</sup>

The final result of that decree of sale have not been discovered. However, despite a tenuous claim to ownership, the African-American community did not move

The deed records of the Clerk of the Augusta County, Virginia, Circuit Court, and the Land Tax Books indicate that the owners/occupants of the Fannie Thompson property from 1875 forward were African-American, and that there was a house on the property from at least 1876 forward. Isaac Newton, a wealthy white businessman in Greenville, purchased a lot containing 5A 3R in Greenville in 1862<sup>26</sup> and then sold two acres of that tract to Joseph Anderson, colored, in 1875.<sup>27</sup> The county land books in 1875 and immediately before listed no improvements on the tract; the land book for 1876 reflects improvements valued at \$200 standing in Anderson's name. (A comparison of similar values including a similar-sized log house in another county village leads to the conclusion that this value of \$200 fairly represents the valuation of a log house and was probably the house currently on the property.)

Joseph Anderson, 73, and his wife Nellie (or Ellen) Britton Anderson who was 71, are found in the increasingly consolidated black community of Greenville in the 1880 census. He was a laborer. Before the Civil War, they were slaves, living together as husband and wife, and both were Augusta County natives.<sup>28</sup> Also living in their household in the 1880 census was

another African-American laborer, Less Woodson, who was 22.<sup>29</sup> Living in the same household were 59-year-old widow Elvira Hill; a niece, 11-year-old Mary Anderson, and three nephews, 7-year-old Charles Anderson, 5 year-old Henry Anderson, and 4-year-old Eldridge Anderson. Anderson died in 1889 at the age of 80.<sup>30</sup>

Before Anderson's death, however, he and his wife sold 19 poles of that tract to Nathaniel Johnson, "colored," in 1883.<sup>31</sup> "Nat" and Ellen Johnson are listed in the census as living in the Riverheads District in 1880. He was a 38-year-old farmer and she was 33.<sup>32</sup> Nathaniel and Ellen Johnson sold the same tract to Fannie Thompson, colored, in 1906.<sup>33</sup> By that time, the Johnsons were noted as being "of Richmond," a move much more easily undertaken after establishment of the railroad. The newly-built railroad in Greenville provided availability of personal transportation as a convenience to all, and provided unprecedented mobility to African-Americans. The next year, Fannie Thompson purchased an additional small strip of land 22 feet wide, 90 feet long, from her neighbors to the north, Henry and Mollie Waddy, "colored."<sup>34</sup>

Despite the fact that Fannie Thompson did not purchase the house from the Johnsons until 1906<sup>35</sup> the Thompsons had apparently been living in the house for a number of years. Fannie Thompson was an illiterate laundress<sup>36</sup> born into slavery about 1846 (died April 6, 1932).<sup>37</sup> Her father was Sam Harper and her mother was probably Viney Harper. In the first census after the Civil War Fannie is living in an African-American household of 11 people so almost certainly they were not yet living in the Greenville cabin although they were within close proximity. The head of that household was 60-year-old Patrick Thompson. Charlotte Thompson, listed just below him, is 50 and is his wife. It is highly likely that these are Fannie's in-laws. Listed in order below Patrick and Charlotte Thompson are: Dianna Thompson, 18, Alice Thompson 7, Patrick Thompson 16, Shadrick (nicknamed "Shed") Thompson 25, Fannie Thompson 23, Mary Elizabeth Thompson 5, Margaret Thompson 4, Rose Ella Thompson 1, and Harper Viney 60. Shadrick, also a freed slave, is Fannie's husband. Mary, Margaret, and Rose are probably Shadrick and Fannie's children, and Viney Harper is probably Fannie's mother. Interestingly enough, it does not appear that the African-American community in the northwest section of Greenville had solidified yet. Black and white families were interspersed throughout the Greenville area.<sup>38</sup> Of note is that in an 1884 issue of *The Greenville Banner*, it was written that "An old and respected colored man,



Patrick Thompson, died Sunday night in the Pines."<sup>39</sup> The Pines is about two miles east of Greenville.

Fannie and Shed Thompson had not yet moved to Greenville proper in 1880 when the census lists them as them living out in the countryside near the village. With them are five daughters and two sons: 15-year-old Mary E., 13-year-old Margaret A., 11-year-old Rosella, 9-year-old Frank W., 7-year-old James E., 4-year-old Lovie B., and 4-month-old Hattie. The Thompsons were living between two white families, the Wisemans, the head of the household of which was a carpenter, and the Gibsons, three brothers who farmed. Because Shed Thompson is listed as a farm laborer, he was probably helping the Gibsons farm. The 1885 Hotchkiss map of the Riverheads District shows two African-American families, the Thompsons and Jenkins, in close proximity to the farms of the three Gibson brothers. The location was about three miles north of Greenville.<sup>40</sup> Both Fannie and Shed Thompson were listed as illiterate. Although none of the children were listed as illiterate, none had attended school in the last year either.<sup>41</sup>

A lot happened to the Thompsons between the 1880 census and the one taken in 1900. Fannie Thompson's husband, Shed, who was a member of Mt. Ead, had died,<sup>42</sup> and the Thompsons had moved to the Greenville black community to reside in the house that would eventually be known in the community as the Fannie Thompson house. The 1890 census does not exist, but the 1900 census clearly shows the Thompsons in the house. Perhaps the death of Shed Thompson precipitated the move back to the village from the rural countryside. The census in 1900 noted that Fannie had 13 children, four of whom were still living. And, most importantly for this essay, she is listed as renting her home. Clearly the Thompsons are living within the Greenville black community. Their next door neighbors are the Martins, the occupants of an almost identical house described by Ann McCleary in 1980, but which no longer exists. Fannie Thompson appears in the 1900 census as the head of household number 247, age 51, employed as a washerwoman, and living with her son, Frank Thompson, a 25-year-old day laborer, and her daughter, Willie Thompson, age 10. That year there were eight adjoining black households listed in the community along Old Staunton Road and the adults included three day laborers, two blacksmiths, three farm laborers, and two washer women.<sup>43</sup>

The 1910 census has several significant changes in the Thompson household. First, the house is listed as being owned, rather than rented. This is consistent with the 1906 sale of the house to Fannie Thompson from

the Johnsons. The census listed only three black households in between groups of white households. It is possible, however, that the census taker went back and forth across the road and/or back and forth across the river. Living at the Fannie Thompson House was C.J. Ross, a 24-year-old lumber teamster married to Fannie Thompson's 21-year-old daughter Willie. Fannie Thompson was enumerated as the 60-year-old mother-in-law, and Frank Thompson as the 38-year-old brother-in-law who was a farm laborer. Both C.J. (Clinton Joseph) Ross and Willie Ross could read and write. Fannie and Frank Thompson are both listed as being illiterate. Their house is owned but has a mortgage on it. The neighbor George Harrison, two houses to the west, was listed as a blacksmith in his own shop and the other adult employments for the black neighborhood included laundress and farm laborer.<sup>44</sup>

Clinton Joseph Ross was born on May 5, 1884, the son of former slaves John W. (farm laborer) and Hannah F. Ross. Clinton was the oldest child. His siblings were Charles, Blanch, Floyd, and Lillie. The Ross family was living very near if not actually in the village of Greenville in 1900.<sup>45</sup>

The heyday for the house was in the 1910s through the early 1930s when the Ross family and the Thompsons would have filled the small cabin. Clinton and Willie Thompson had one son, Edward Claude Ross, born in 1908 in Pennsylvania while his parents were living there in order for Clinton to find work as a brick mason. As the family grew and members periodically came back to Greenville to live, this is probably what precipitated the expansion of the house, estimated to have occurred about 1913. Although Clinton and Willie remained married, Clinton worked first in Pennsylvania and then in Ohio as a construction worker. His WWI draft card indicates that he and Willie lived in Philadelphia where he was employed by Chester Construction Company. However by the 1920 census, Willie was back in Greenville living with her mother and Clinton was a lodger at a boarding house in Philadelphia. Their son Claude was attending school in Greenville (even though he is not listed in the census).<sup>46</sup> In the 1930 census, Clinton is living in Ohio with his 22-year-old son Claude. They were living on a farm and working as masons. Clinton is described as being married and Claude is single. They could both read and write.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, Willie was living in Greenville with her mother Fannie and her brother James. It must be remembered that this was the Depression and people were traveling to find work. For those decades, the house in Greenville appears to have served as a safe haven for the Rosses and James

Thompson to come back to when searching for work. Perhaps Willie could come home to Greenville when her health deteriorated and so that young Claude could attend school in Greenville.

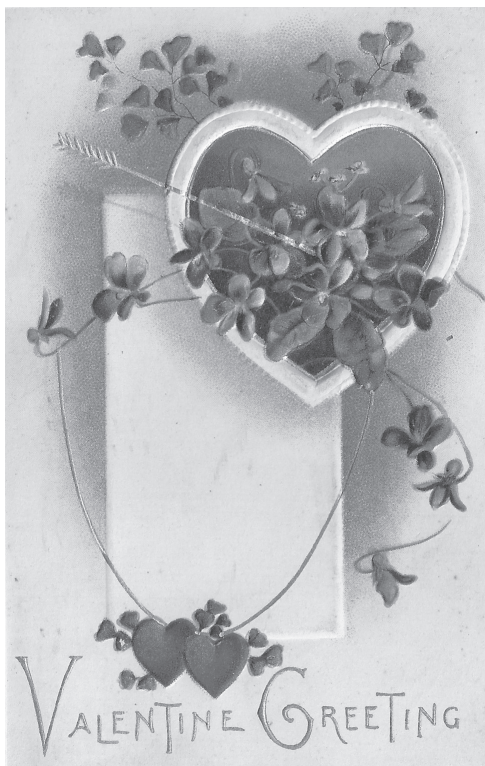
Several generations of Rosses show up in the African-American school in Greenville. Thirty-three children were in attendance in the 1909-1910 school year, including Herman Ross and Lillie Ross (who was Clinton Ross's sister). Herman might be a younger brother who had not yet been born in the 1900 census. Ten years later in the 1919-1920 school year among the twenty-five students enrolled are Claude Ross, who is Clinton and Willie's son.<sup>48</sup> Even today, when one stands on the porch of the Fannie Thompson House just outside the front door and looks east at the wooden siding next to the door, one piece of siding has "ABCs" scratched into the wood.

Forty books were recovered by current owner David McCaskey from the rubble in the house. Four among them, *Webster's Elementary School Dictionary*, *Elementary Community Civics* (Virginia edition, 1922-23), *New-World Speller Grades Two to Seven* with a preface to primary teachers, 1915, and Maury's *Geography With Additional Virginia Pages*, all come from the time period that the Rosses were going to school. Among the books are three textbooks bearing the names of mother and son, Willie Ross and E. Claud Ross.

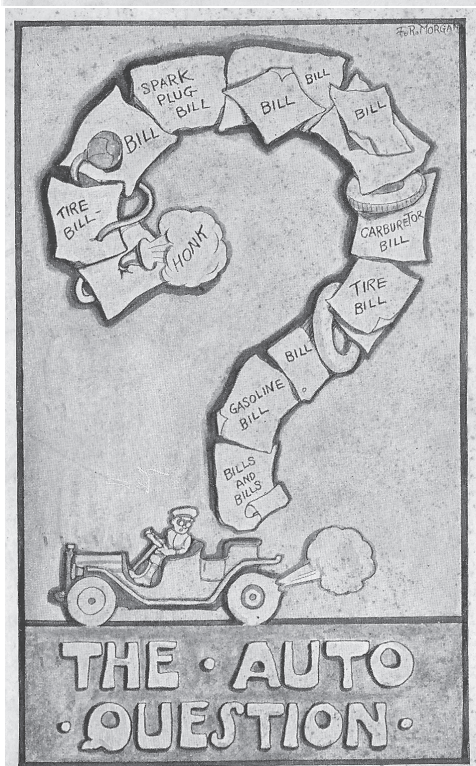
A number of religious books confirm household members' involvement in the church community. One of them, *A New Testament Primer*, in much better condition than most, is inscribed "Edward Claud Ross, born Aug 10, 1908" and leads to the inference that it might have been a gift received shortly after his birth.

The 1920 census listed eight black households in between groups of white households along Old Staunton Road. Fannie Thompson, age 73, is again listed as the head of household with only her son James and daughter Willie living with her. Both women were laundresses. The Harrison family house, now listed as three households to the west, was headed by 70-year-old Jackson Harrison, not working; Andrew Harrison, age 34 is listed as a chauffeur employed at his own garage. Other employments within the black community were listed as laborer, railroad worker; laborer, woods; and farm laborer.<sup>49</sup>

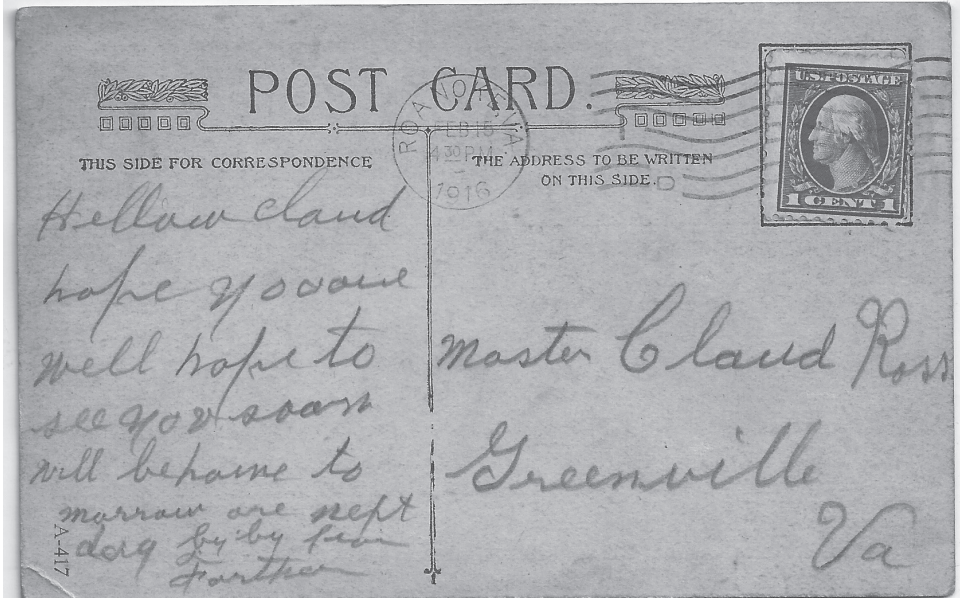
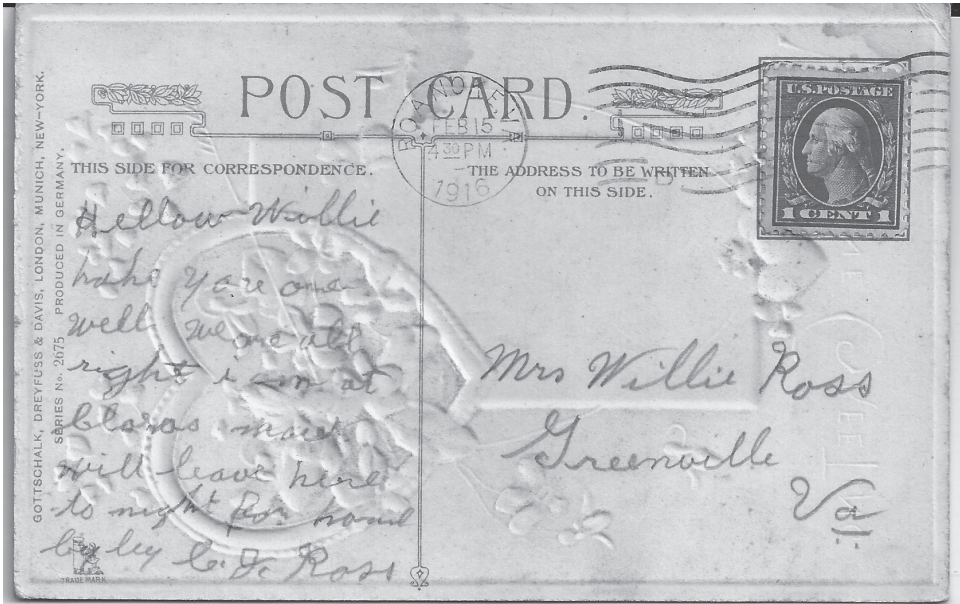
The 1930 census lists a grouping of three black households in the community along Old Staunton Road. Fannie Thompson, head of household, was by then 85 years old and not working. Living with her are her



*C.J. Ross sent the top postcard, a Valentine, to his wife and the bottom card to his son. The short note that he wrote to each can be seen on the next page.*







C.J. Ross apparently was in Roanoke in February of 1916, perhaps he was working in the city. Almost certainly he traveled there by train. At any rate, he sent his son, "Master Claud Ross" and his wife "Mrs. Willie Ross" each a postcard telling them that he would be home soon. These two postcards were among the items found in the house after the final occupant, Sue Porter, was deceased.



51-year-old son James and her 38-year-old daughter Willie Ross. The household also had a lodger, an 11-year-old boy named Allen McCutchin. Allen was a student at the Greenville school in 1930.<sup>50</sup> Flanking the Thompson household in the census are two other African-American families. The entry before the Thompsons is for the Harrison household. Braddy Harrison, a 47-year-old laborer doing “odd jobs” is listed as the head of the household. Also in the household are his 45-year-old brother Andy who is a laborer, and his 70-year-old uncle George who was still working as a blacksmith although in earlier census records he is described as owning his own blacksmith shop. On the other side of the Thompsons was Charley Randolph, a 75-year-old widower apparently living by himself.<sup>51</sup>

By the 1940 census the Thompson household had been radically altered by two significant deaths. The matriarch of the house, Fannie Thompson, died on April 6, 1932, of bronchial pneumonia. She was “about 86.” Rosa Green, who was probably her granddaughter, reported her death.<sup>52</sup> The legacy that she left as a matriarchal leader of the African-American community was rich. Although born a slave, she embraced freedom after the Civil War. She and her husband Shed knew how to work even without any formal education. She earned enough money doing laundry to purchase the log cabin on the northwest corner of Greenville. Over the years she made enough money to add on to her house in order to welcome in an extended family, including a young boy. She was also able to purchase an additional small sliver of land to attach to the small lot on which sat her house.

Fannie’s daughter, Willie Ross, died just weeks after her mother on June 2, 1932, of asthma. She was 41 years old and listed as being married. Again reporting the death was Rosa Green, probably her niece.<sup>53</sup> Clinton Ross apparently remained in Ohio, where he had been working as a bricklayer, for the rest of his life. His WWII draft card from Geauga, Ohio, indicates that he had remarried. He died in Cleveland on August 12, 1965, at the age of 81, and is buried in Painesville, Ohio.<sup>54</sup>

The 1940 census for the Riverheads Magisterial district shows a well-established African-American community adjacent to the Fannie Thompson House. In that year the census taker began on the northwest section of Greenville, noting “Here begins Greenville, Va.” He then lists eight consecutive African-American families: Robinson (six persons), McComey (one person), Martin (four persons), Harris (one person), Thompson

MARGIN RESERVED FOR BINDING

α. B—WRITE PLAINLY, WITH UNFADING INK (WRITING FLUID). THIS IS A PERMANENT RECORD. EVERY ITEM OF INFORMATION MUST BE FULLY SET FORTH. PHYSICIANS SHOULD STATE THE CAUSE OF DEATH IN PLAIN TERMS, SO THAT IT MAY BE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED. EACH STATEMENT OF OCCUPATION IS VERY IMPORTANT.

1 PLACE OF DEATH		CERTIFICATE OF DEATH COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS		Misplaced 10960	
COUNTY OF	King George	REGISTRATION DISTRICT No.	744	REGISTERED No.	7
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT OF	Leesylvania	(TO BE INSERTED BY REGISTRAR)		(FOR USE OF LOCAL REGISTRAR)	
OR		(No.)		St.	WARD)
INC. TOWN OF		(If death occurred in a hospital or other institution, give its NAME instead of street and number)			
CITY OF		(How long in U. S., if of foreign birth?.....yrs.....mos.....ds)			
Length of residence in city or town where death occurred.....yrs.....mos.....ds					
2 FULL NAME		Fannie Thompson			
(A) RESIDENCE. No.		Greenville, Va.			
(Usual place of abode)		(If nonresident give city or town and State)			
PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS					
3. SEX	4. COLOR OR RACE	5. MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED (Write the word)	21. DATE OF DEATH		
Female	Black	Widowed	22. I HEREBY CERTIFY, THAT I HAVE ATTENDED DECEASED FROM		
5A. IF MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED			I LAST SAW HIM ALIVE ON		
HUSBAND OF (OR) WIFE OF			DEATH IS SAID		
			TO HAVE OCCURRED ON THE DATE STATED ABOVE, AT.....		
			THE PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF DEATH AND RELATED CAUSES OF IMPORTANCE IN		
			ORDER OF ONSET WERE AS FOLLOWS		
			Bronchial Pneumonia		
			Date of onset		
			March 32		
			CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES OF IMPORTANCE NOT RELATED TO		
			PRINCIPAL CAUSE:		
			107		
			NAME OF OPERATION		
			DATE OF		
			WHAT TEST CONFIRMED DIAGNOSIS?		
			WAS THERE AN AUTOPSY?		
			23. IF DEATH WAS DUE TO EXTERNAL CAUSES (VIOLENCE) FILL IN ALSO THE		
			FOLLOWING:		
			DATE OF		
			INJURY		
			WHERE DID INJURY OCCUR?		
			(Specify city or town, county, and State)		
			SPECIFY WHETHER INJURY OCCURRED IN INDUSTRY, IN HOME, OR IN PUBLIC		
			PLACE		
			MANNER OF INJURY		
			NATURE OF INJURY		
			24. WAS DISEASE OR INJURY IN ANY WAY RELATED TO OCCUPATION OF		
			DECEASED?		
			IF SO, SPECIFY		
			(SIGNED)		
			(ADDRESS)		
			F. J. Thompson		
			Greenville, Va.		
			D.		
			20. FILED		
			March 7, 1932		
			Mrs. E. J. Harper		
			Registrar		

Fannie Thompson's death certificate

(two persons), Harris (two persons), Hawp (two persons), and Lewis (eight persons).<sup>55</sup> The Thompson household was reduced to two individuals: 63-year-old James Thompson and 55-year-old Susie Haliburton. The census taker listed Haliburton as James's sister, but this is incorrect. She was his first cousin as Fannie Harper Thompson and Sue's mother, Martha Harper Haliburton were probably sisters (although Fannie's death certificate in 1932 lists her father as Sam Harper and her mother as unknown, and Martha's death certificate in 1913 says that her father was William Harper and her mother was unknown.)<sup>56</sup>

Susan Jane Haliburton (or Halliburton) was born in 1886 to John and Martha (Harper) Haliburton, former slaves in the southern Augusta County area. She spent some of her early adult years as a nurse in Baltimore where she is found in the census as a servant working for the white Waters family.<sup>57</sup> In 1926 she returned to be a "nurse" for the family of Philip C. Brooks, his wife Sue, and their small son Philip. Brooks was a teacher at Fishburne Military School and his wife was the secretary there.<sup>58</sup> It was while Sue was

working for the Brooks family that circumstances brought her in contact with the Bocock family who lived in Greenville and she also began taking care of the Bocock children, whose father ran an eating establishment in the village. The Bocock family lived just west of Greenville's black community on a tract of land where Interstate 81 is now located.

Where Sue Haliburton was living in 1930 is unclear, but by 1940 she was living with her cousin in Greenville. On February 19, 1941, when she was 55 years old and still single, she married Moffett Porter, a 68-year-old widower from the African-American community. Moffett, the son of Sidney Porterfield and Jordan Porter, was a farmer who sometimes did a little preaching on the side.<sup>59</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that Moffett Porter's first wife, Ella Carter, might have been Fannie Thompson's daughter known variously in the records as Rosa, Rosella, or perhaps Ella. Moffett's first wife, Ella, died in 1938. Her death certificate lists her mother as Fannie Thompson and her father as Henry Carter. It said she was born in Staunton and she was 59 years old. If indeed her mother was the same Fannie Thompson that is described here, then Moffett Porter was Fannie's son-in-law.<sup>60</sup> At any rate, when Sue Haliburton married Moffett Porter in 1941, the couple went to live a few miles away just northeast of Greenville along the Norfolk and Western Railroad at the depot stop known as Avis. He was a farmer and she continued to care for families by going to their homes. The children of the Bocock family adored "Aunt Sue" and "Uncle Moffett" and remembered visiting the Porters in their home along the railroad tracks where they had a garden and one milk cow. Aunt Sue would also spend days at the Bocock house taking care of the children.

Although the census records indicate that Sue Porter's traditional schooling amounted to two years, the Bococks remembered a woman who was steeped in traditional herbs and home remedies. She knew the right remedies to administer to the children she cared for in order to stop a stomach ache, an ear ache, etc. Even after he was an adult and went hunting, Bobby Bocock would always remember to gather particular herbs and take them to Aunt Sue so she could boil them and make her purifying tonics. "She was the sweetest person I ever knew," remembered Bobby Bocock. Bocock and his wife Peggy also remembered that Aunt Sue could make wine out of anything including blackberries, potatoes, tomatoes, dandelion, and locust. However she never drank except to take a spoonful regularly for "medicinal purposes." When the Bococks had children of their own, Aunt Sue embraced them as well and would often sit with them under a tree and tell ghost stories.<sup>61</sup>





*Susan Haliburton Porter (Courtesy the Bocock family)*

Aunt Sue's home remedies extended to incantations and spells in order to remove warts or predict the future. She thought that one should always rub the first snow in your eyes to promote eye health. If you burned a finger you had to blow on it and repeat a little incantation. Her interest in divination is documented by a letter addressed to her dated June 4, 1935, found in the house, confirming shipment of "one pack of Revelation fortune telling cards" from the United States Playing Card Company of Cincinnati, USA.

Sue Porter only lived in the house at Avis for seven years until the death of Moffett Porter on July 22, 1948.<sup>62</sup> With his death she resumed the circumstances of the 1940 census by living with her cousin James Thompson. From there she could easily walk to the Bocock home that was just up the road to the west. From that point until his death in 1953, "Uncle Jim" also became an important part of the Bocock family. "Uncle Jim was as fine a fellow as you would want to meet," said Bocock. He noted that Thompson made his living doing odd jobs for families such as building fences.

Sue Porter and Jim Thompson's house stood at the edge of what was the segregated "colored" section of Greenville. The Bococks confirmed what numerous accounts have said about this community: that the African-Americans were an accepted part of the village life, but that there were unwritten rules that all lived by. One of those rules was that after dark, the black members of the community were not allowed to cross into the rest of the village.<sup>63</sup>

For the five years that they lived together after Sue Porter's husband died, the cousins apparently split the house with Jim living in the left half of the house and Fannie living in the right half of the house.<sup>64</sup> James E. Thompson died in November of 1953. His funeral expenses were paid for by his cousin, Sue Porter. The November 23, 1953, receipt for that payment was found among the papers that remained scattered in the house. After her cousin died in 1953, Sue continued to live in the house until just a few weeks before her death in 1974, at the age of 99. She continued to help some with the families of both Lewis and Bobby Bocock and their children and they, in turn, watched after her. Until she was 96 or 97 years old the tiny woman would walk the mile or so from her house up the hill to the Bobby Bocock house so that she could watch her favorite soap opera. One favorite story that the Bococks told about Aunt Sue was that she had never seen a



doctor until she was seventy-two years old. That visit, to Greenville's Dr. Thomas, required that he give her a shot in her buttock. When he raised her dress to give her the shot, the tiny woman hauled off and slapped the doctor in the face saying no man was going to do that to her!<sup>65</sup> When Sue H. Porter passed away on November 19, 1974, a service was conducted in the chapel of Jones Funeral Home in Staunton by the Rev. Carl Edwards, the minister of Good Shepherd Episcopal Church in Folly Mills where she was a member. Porter and her mother Martha Harper are buried in Thornrose Cemetery in Staunton.<sup>66</sup>

Sue Porter had no children and never actually owned the house that she lived in. Jim Thompson also had no children so when both were gone, the house was unoccupied and unclaimed by any descendants of Fannie Thompson. When the current owner purchased the property from the descendants of Fannie Thompson the house had been vacant since 1974 and had been severely vandalized after Susan Porter's death as people searched for "a valuable ring" that she was rumored to have inherited from an employer.

Documents retrieved from the house provide details of the twentieth-century history of the Fannie Thompson house. Those include:

- Receipt number 17211 for a dog license, dated January 30, 1935, bears the name of James Thompson.

- Augusta County tax receipts for 26 ¼ poles of land adj. Waddy standing in the name of Fannie Thompson dated from 1938-1945, several bearing the notation "paid by James Thompson."

- A 1946 Augusta County tax receipt for 3 poles of land standing in the name of James Thompson. (In 1932 immediately after Fannie Thompson's Death, James Thompson purchased a vaguely described adjoining parcel from Henry & Mary Waddy.)

- A June 4, 1935, acknowledgment of an order of "one pack of Revelation fortune telling cards" Addressed to Miss Susan Haliburton, Greenville, Virginia.

- An envelope addressed to Mrs. Susan Porter at Route 1, Box 24, Stuarts Draft, Virginia, dated February 21, 194\_ (this would have been while she and Moffett were living in Avis, which would have probably had a Stuarts Draft address.)

- Augusta County tax receipts for 26¼ poles of land in the name of

Fannie Thompson dated 1957 and 1959 marked as paid by Susan Porter.

--Augusta County tax receipt for 3 poles of land in the name of James Thompson dated 1957 marked as paid by Susan Porter.

--A VEPCO [Virginia Electric Power Company] bill dated July 1966 in the name of Sue Porter,

--A notice from the Social Security Administration dated Jun 01, 1968 addressed to Susan Jane Porter, Gen Del, Greenville, VA 24440.

--An envelope dated February 10, 1973, addressed to Mrs. Susan Haliburton Porter, Greenville, Virginia.

--An apparently unused copy of the 1974 Hagers -Town Town and Country Almanack.

--There were also a number of children's books including *Little Snow White*, *Anderson's Fairy Tales*, *Golden Summer Days* (Mother Goose Nursery Rhymes), and *Uncle Tom's Cabin, Illustrated Edition*, juvenile novels including *The Sky Pilot*, *Boy Scouts on Old Superior* or *the Tale of the Pictured Rocks*; adult novels, *Three Years in Arkansaws*, *Tried for Her Life*, *Her Husband's Secret*; and serious adult reading, *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Garfield*, *Latin Exercise Book* (inscribed :J.Paris Palmer, Greenville, Va., Session 98-99, Roanoke College), *Wreck of the Titanic*, and *Sparkling Gems, Race Knowledge Worth Reading*.

The parcel of 3 Poles that James Thompson purchased from Mr. and Mrs. Waddy after his Mother's death, still stands as a separate adjoining tax map parcel.<sup>67</sup> The present owner purchased both parcels from Fannie Thompson's descendants.<sup>68</sup>

Greenville's African-American population dropped as farming became more mechanized and the First and Second World Wars both took young men into military service and war industry led both men and women to leave for better employment after which they were reluctant to return to primitive housing on a rocky ridge without a water supply and unable to support septic systems. These demographic changes left only the old people, an insufficient number of parishioners to support the churches, which closed, and the only group tolerant of the old style of living. It is telling that Brake's 1994 *History of Greenville* recites the church and school histories and lists the tombstones in the graveyard but has no more recent history of the African American presence other than the anecdotal recollections of elderly white residents. But for Sue Haliburton Porter, the Fannie Thompson House would have fared no better than the more prosperous looking houses in the Brake photograph.



*The top photo was taken by Ann McCleary for VDHR in 1980. The bottom photo, showing the same side of the house, was taken in 2017. The limestone retaining wall that borders U.S. Rt. 11 can be seen in both photos.*

## The Fannie Thompson House in Context:

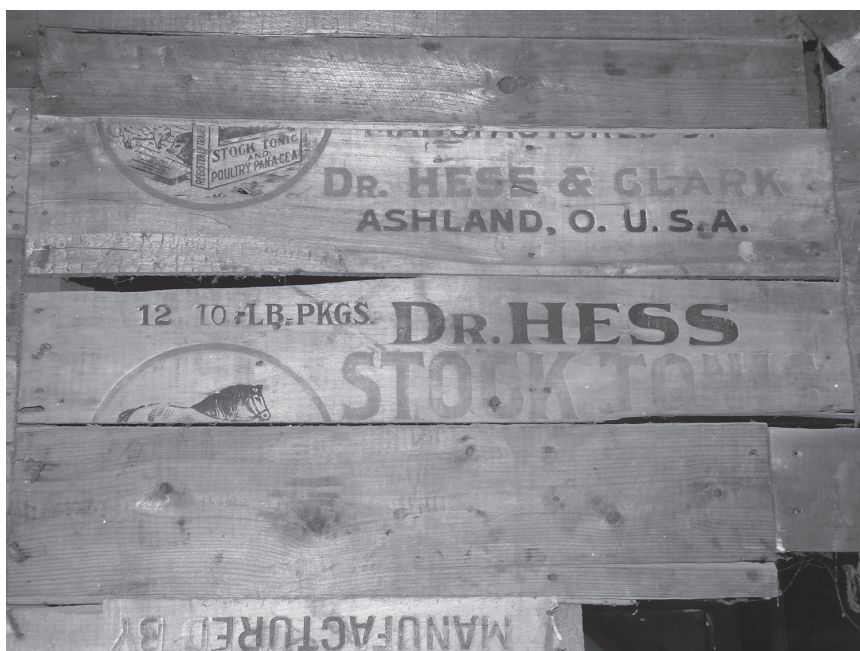
The families that lived in the Fannie Thompson house symbolized by their individual examples in a very personal way what was happening across the Shenandoah Valley and Virginia in the larger and more abstract the story of African-American society's struggles and triumphs. The story spans slightly more than a century from the end of the Civil War and emancipation, through the highs of Reconstruction to the lows of Jim Crow segregation, and the final push for equality in the Civil Rights era. It is likely that those African-American families in Greenville knew and cared little for that bigger picture. But nonetheless the bigger picture defined how they lived, worshipped, raised families, gained an education, and worked.

The story begins in the chaos of the end of the Civil War and the confusion of emancipation. It was a period in which the major players, both black and white, were operating under a new system for which the rules were being written on the fly. When the behemoth of American slavery came crashing down, the newly freed families found themselves adrift in a society where they suddenly had freedoms and responsibilities that were unthinkable just five years before. For the first time, families could come together and live under one roof, but where? The newspapers of the period are filled with descriptions of what were described as vagrant blacks hanging out in groups in the streets. From a white perspective the idea of homeless, unemployed blacks provoked fear. From the black perspective, the fear would have settled more on the unknowns of where to live, what to eat, how to get work, and where to find lost family members who had been separated by the cruelty of slavery.

Perhaps Dr. Edward L. Ayers, author of the recently published *The Thin Light of Freedom: The Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America*, described it best: "Black Southerners had to navigate the shifting and treacherous landscape. The freedpeople struggled to make a living, gather their families, and find security in an unpredictable world."<sup>70</sup> Charged with the task of orchestrating the return of civil society was the Freedman's Bureau. The headquarters for that federal agency was based in Staunton, the county seat of Augusta County. The head of Staunton's Freedman's Bureau noted in January of 1866 "the air is full of outrages on the Freedmen by the White, and will be until just laws are made and executed."<sup>71</sup>

Over the course of several years the desire to return to normal life, albeit under new rules dictated by the Freedman's Bureau that returned order to society. The newly-freed families found security by congregating





*The Fannie Thompson house has several fascinating architectural details including the siding that is under the front porch. The "ABCs" scratched into the boards, top, are perhaps left over from someone practicing schoolwork. The bottom photo shows some of the "paneling" inside an upstairs closet. The walls of the closet were apparently taken from wooden crates that were once used to ship merchandise. (Photos by Nancy Sorrells)*





*The top photo is an interior shot of the Fannie Thompson house taken in 1980 by Ann McCleary for VDHR. The bottom photograph shows a James Madison archaeology team at work at the house in late 2018. The archaeological work is ongoing.*

in communities near the familiar landscape where they had always lived and worked. With very little means to afford land and housing, they pooled their resources and gathered as communities on the outskirts of those places with which they were familiar. The community of which the Fannie Thompson house was a part, exemplified this evolution, as newly-freed families took up residence on the poorest unoccupied land in the Greenville community. Many freedpeople quickly documented their existence as family units by registering their marriages and children with the Freedman's Bureau. This worked for the white community as well. The white families needed the proximity of African-American labor and business as much as the black families needed employment and material goods.

An initial push toward equality both politically and socially rose in Staunton and Augusta. How much trickled down to the newly formed African-American community in Greenville is hard to estimate. However, whatever was accomplished in those Reconstruction years had disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century, replaced by an uneasy truce that gradually became embedded as an accepted part of the society. The residents of the black community on the hill in Greenville accepted what was reality as they likely went about their daily lives trying to make a living within the bounds of what they had. They worked hard, making enough to buy a bit more land and enlarge their houses. They took advantage of the education that, though inferior, was offered. We know that several of the children living in the Fannie Thompson house attended school at the other end of the village of Greenville.

Laten Ervin Bechtel, author of *"That's Just the Way It Was": A Chronological and Documentary History of African-American Schools in Staunton and Augusta County*, said of the educational opportunities offered to area blacks from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century were inferior but added: "Nevertheless, African American were determined to learn regardless of what whites thought, with or without an official mandate. Many regarded education as a long denied right and to them it symbolized a badge of freedom. Perhaps most significantly, African Americans understood that an education would enable them to attain social status and political positions. In short, African Americans viewed education as a path to their own uplift within the larger society." She went on to write: "In spite of the oppressive atmosphere, African Americans continued to work within the system for personal improvement as well as social change."<sup>72</sup> Black residents from the Greenville community attended school on the

southern edge of the village. The location of their homes around the community churches and near the school was paramount, providing security, comfort, and advancement within the limits of the Jim Crow South. There was a permanent school at the edge of the village as early as 1871. In 1882 a two-room frame building was constructed. In 1933 the school population expanded to include students from nearby Mint Spring and Middlebrook. With the opening of the consolidated Augusta County Training School (grades 1-8) in 1938, the Greenville School was closed.<sup>73</sup>

Throughout the struggles of the Great Depression, the Fannie Thompson house and the black community in Greenville remained as a haven for families to come home to while increasingly venturing farther afield in the northern states in order to find work. Many of those families, like those living in the Thompson house, never returned.

"This was also a time when small vibrant communities began to disappear, as advanced modern transportation drew people to larger towns and markets as well as to more employment opportunities. In the first few decades of the twentieth century, most Augusta County African Americans worked on farms or made their living from farm related jobs. In 1920, there were 216 black farm operators. By 1930, however, this number had decreased by more than half as only ninety-nine farms in the county were operated by African Americans. This reduction of farmers coupled with the number of people who had left farm-related jobs to go to northern cities in search of better opportunities, contributed to a fourteen percent African American population decline from 4,188 in 1920 to 3,609 in 1930. During the same period, the white population increased by approximately ten percent. The shrinking black population as mentioned earlier, reduced the school enrollment and resulted in the closing of some schools and the consolidation of others."<sup>74</sup>

The loss of their community school coupled with the loss of their community population in the 1930s marked the beginning of the end for the separate and vibrant black community in Greenville just as it did for the other black communities in the county. The final blow came with the emergence of Civil Rights in the 1960s and the end of segregated communities. The fact that the Fannie Thompson house survived relatively unaltered even as the remnants of the vibrant community around it faded away is due almost entirely to the longevity of a widow named Sue Porter who continued to live on in the house until she was almost 100. The daughter of slaves, Mrs. Porter lived a simple life, content to heat with a

wood stove and get her water from a nearby spring. Her longevity and her desire to live simply preserved a house that has given us a portal to better understand the century-and-a-half sweep of African-American history in a small village in southern Augusta County.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Ann McCleary, "Study Unit: Historic Resources in Augusta County, Virginia: Eighteenth Century to Present," (Regional Architectural Historian, Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission), October 1983, pg. 925.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ann McCleary, "Study Unit: Historic Resources in Augusta County, Virginia: Eighteenth Century to Present," (Regional Architectural Historian, Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission), October 1983, pg. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *The Greenville Banner*, December 12, 1883, and May 23, 1883 [<https://viriniachronicle.com/cgi-bin/virginia?a=cl&cl=CL1&sp=GVB&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->], John W. Brake, *The History of Greenville, Va.* (self-published, printed in Harrisonburg, Va., 1994), 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pg. 387.

<sup>7</sup> Jed. Hotchkiss, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Augusta County Virginia 1885*, (Waterman Watkins & Co., Chicago, 1885, reproduced by Mid Valley Press, Verona, Va., 1991), 72.

<sup>8</sup> *The Greenville Banner*, various entries.

<sup>9</sup> Brake, 134.

<sup>10</sup> Laten Ervin Bechtel with Susie Brent King, *"That's Just the Way It Was": A Chronological and Documentary History of African-American Schools in Staunton and Augusta County*, (Staunton, Va.: Lot's Wife Publishing, 2010), 382-383.

<sup>11</sup> *The Greenville Banner*, August 6, 1878.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Nov. 18, 1883.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Oct. 10, 1884.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., Nov. 23, 1883.

<sup>15</sup> Marriages in Augusta County 1868, Freedman's Bureau Record, Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court for Augusta County, Virginia, Staunton, Va.

<sup>16</sup> Nancy Sorrells, *Slavery and Freedom in Augusta County*, Augusta County Historical Society presentation.

<sup>17</sup> *The Greenville Banner*, January 16, 1884, p.1.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., June 6, 1882, p.1; Dec. 22, 1882, p.1; August 4, 1882, p.1.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., April 16, 1884, p.1.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., May 6, 1885, p.1.

<sup>21</sup> McCleary survey, DHR ID 007-0663.

<sup>22</sup> *The Greenville Banner*, April 25, 1883.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., August 29, 1883.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Peggy and Bobby Bocock, November 3, 2017. The Bococks indicated that Sue Porter, who lived in the house alone from 1953 to the 1974 when she entered a nursing home, always got her water from that spring.

<sup>25</sup> Brake, 126. On this page in his book, Brake includes a copy of a survey done by J.S. Callison, May 4, 1903 and referred to as "McDonald's Addition to Greenville."

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., Jan. 28, 1885.

<sup>27</sup> Augusta County Deed book 78, page 382.

<sup>28</sup> Deed book 89, page 458.

<sup>29</sup> Augusta County Cohabitation records created by the Freedman's Bureau.

<sup>30</sup> Less Woodson is probably Lester Woodson who married Alice Thompson, the daughter of Patrick and Charlotte Thompson on July 24, 1893. That would make him the husband of Shed Thompson's sister and Fannie Thompson's sister-in-law. Augusta County marriage records, research done by Laten Bechtel.

<sup>31</sup> Virginia, Deaths and Burials Index, 1853-1917, 2056974.

<sup>32</sup> Deed book 150, page 11.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Census 1870.

<sup>34</sup> Deed book 150, page 12.

<sup>35</sup> Deed Book 153, page 487.

<sup>36</sup> Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court for Augusta County, Virginia, deed book 150, page 12.

- <sup>37</sup> 1910 U.S. Census, Fannie Thompson is listed as a laundress who can't read or write.
- <sup>38</sup> Brake, 14.
- <sup>39</sup> U.S. Census, 1870.
- <sup>40</sup> *The Greenville Banner*, January 23, 1884.
- <sup>41</sup> *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Augusta County, Va.*, 1885.
- <sup>42</sup> U.S. Census, 1880.
- <sup>43</sup> Shed Thompson is listed in a *The Greenville Banner* article as being a member of Mt. Ead. Fannie Thompson is listed in the U.S. Census of 1900 as being a widow.
- <sup>44</sup> <https://archive.org/stream/12thcensusofpopu1900>.
- <sup>45</sup> <https://archive.org/stream/13thcensusofpopu1910>.
- <sup>46</sup> 1900 U.S. Census.
- <sup>47</sup> Clinton Ross WWI draft card, 1920 U.S. Census.
- <sup>48</sup> 1930 U.S. Census.
- <sup>49</sup> Bechtel and King, 382-383.
- <sup>50</sup> <https://archive.org/stream/14thcensusofpopu1920>.
- <sup>51</sup> Bechtel and King, 383.
- <sup>52</sup> All information in this paragraph other than the school reference. <https://archive.org/stream/15thcensusofpopu1930>.
- <sup>53</sup> Fannie Thompson death certificate April 6, 1932.
- <sup>54</sup> Willie Ross death certificate, June 2, 1932.
- <sup>55</sup> Ancestry.com Clinton Ross documentation.
- <sup>56</sup> <https://archive.org/stream/16thcensusofpopu1940>.
- <sup>57</sup> Death certificates of Martha Harper (1913) and Fannie Thompson (1932).
- <sup>58</sup> U.S. Census, 1920, Baltimore.
- <sup>59</sup> U.S. Census, 1930 and Susan Porter obituary, *Staunton News Leader* Nov. 20, 1974.
- <sup>60</sup> Marriage certificate of Susan Haliburton and Moffett Porter, Feb. 19, 1941. Virginia Marriage Records, 1936-2014. The preaching reference is found in Brake's book.
- <sup>61</sup> Ella Porter death certificate, Nov. 15, 1938.
- <sup>62</sup> Interview with Peggy and Bobby Bocock of Greenville, Nov. 10, 2017.
- <sup>63</sup> Tombstone in the Mt. Ead cemetery.
- <sup>64</sup> Interview with Peggy and Bobby Bocock.
- <sup>65</sup> Ann McCleary's 1980 survey, interview with Lewis Bocock. 07-663.
- <sup>66</sup> Interview with Peggy and Bobby Bocock.
- <sup>67</sup> Porter obituary and Thornrose Cemetery records.
- <sup>68</sup> Deed book 262, page 21.
- <sup>69</sup> Augusta County Deeds, Instrument number 010008870, dated August 26, 2001, David I. McCaskey purchased adjoining parcels identified as Augusta County Tax Map Numbers 82A-1-61 and 82A-1-6 from Mabel L. Ratliff, et.als.
- <sup>70</sup> Edward L. Ayers, *The Thin Light of Freedom: The Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America*, New York: W.W. Norton Co, 2017), 371.
- <sup>71</sup> Laten Ervin Bechtel, *"That's Just the Way It Was": A Chronological and Documentary History of African-American Schools in Staunton and Augusta County*, Staunton, Va., Lot's Wife Publishing, 2010, 53 and 79.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 383
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 216
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>75</sup> Ann McCleary, Green Koagler House [also referred to by McCleary as simply the Koagler House], Greenville, Augusta County," 07-668, June 1980.
- <sup>76</sup> Ann McCleary, "Fanny Thompson House, Greenville, Augusta County," 07-663. Survey form.
- <sup>77</sup> Augusta County Deed book 153, page 487.
- <sup>78</sup> Brake, 134.
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.



# Judge Samuel McDowell

## Son of Virginia – Father of Kentucky

By Robert J. Gang III

*Editors Note: Readers will enjoy this article not just for the biographical information that it reveals about the McDowell family, but for the detailed frontier and Revolutionary War history that paints a vivid picture of what our region was like during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the beginning of that period, the greater Augusta region was still very much the "wild west" while in the latter part of that era, the region was witnessing the birth and childhood of a new nation. Author Robert J. Gang III is a member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia and the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR). He has had a lifelong interest in the history of America. While he never knew her, his grandmother Mary McDowell Lyne left family lore of the exploits of her illustrious ancestors. One of them, Judge Samuel McDowell (1735-1817), was Robert's fifth great grandfather. Judge McDowell was Mary's patriot ancestor for the Daughters of the American Revolution and is Robert's patriot ancestor for the SAR.*

Samuel McDowell's remarkable civil and military career spanned three wars and encompassed the birth and securing of the United States as a nation and Kentucky as a state. Although far from ranking with the demigods among the founding fathers, McDowell was nevertheless a significant figure of the Revolutionary Era and the founding of our nation. Samuel McDowell helped to shape the events that brought the colonies into nationhood and Kentucky into statehood. As a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses he took an active part in the movement that brought about the war of independence.

During the time of the Revolutionary War, he became the quintessential go-to man whom his Virginia superiors relied upon to get things done. Samuel McDowell served and fought in three wars. During the French and Indian War he fought as a private in Captain Samuel Lewis' company at Braddock's defeat. During Lord Dunmore's War he fought as a captain who led a company of the Augusta County Militia at the Battle of Point Pleasant. McDowell later served throughout the Revolutionary War as a captain then a major and later as a colonel of the Augusta County and the Rockbridge County Militia. From patrolling the mountain passes

on the frontier in western Virginia, to supporting General Hand at Pittsburgh, to leading his men to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, to blocking British Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton's advance at Rockfish Pass of the Shenandoah Valley, to witnessing Cornwallis' surrender, McDowell was a key figure in securing our freedom from Great Britain. For many years he was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which ushered the colony of Virginia into a state of rebellion with Great Britain. Later, as a member of the Commonwealth of Virginia Assembly, he helped marshal Virginia's



*Judge Samuel McDowell*

efforts supporting the revolutionary cause and finally, as a member of the Governor's Privy Council in 1781, he assisted facilitating the executive prosecution of the campaign that ended in victory at Yorktown. In 1782 he was appointed a commissioner to settle the land claims of Kentucky. McDowell was then appointed as a circuit judge organizing the first court formed in the territory in Danville, which was held in a log cabin.

After settling in Kentucky in 1783, McDowell was appointed as a Federal Judge and remained upon the bench until within a few years of his death. Samuel McDowell was a founder of both the Danville Political Club and the Kentucky Society of Useful Knowledge. He was a leading figure in retaining the lands west of the Alleghenies for the United States when others conspired to cleave this territory and make it a satellite of Spain. He was also president of nine of the ten Constitutional Conventions, held in Danville that on June 1, 1792, resulted in Kentucky being made the fifteenth state of the Federal Union. Once statehood was achieved he was a primary writer of the Kentucky State Constitution as evidenced by his signature on the document. Samuel also served in the Kentucky legislature for several years.

But the above is not all. He was also a leader of his church serving his Presbyterian church from early adulthood until his death. When he was eighty-one he made an arduous trip on horseback from Danville to Nashville traveling an average of forty miles per day to attend the Presbyterian Synodical Convention meeting where he represented his church. As a fervent advocate of the importance of education he helped to found institutes of higher education in both Virginia and Kentucky. The heritage of the American Revolution calls upon Americans to cherish liberty; Samuel

McDowell stands among many of his generation and representing both the making of this legacy and its succession in succeeding generations. Samuel McDowell played a major role in the development of the formation of the United States and the State of Kentucky. He was a son of Virginia and one of the founding fathers of Kentucky.

### Son of Virginia

Take from the history of this beautiful region the name of McDowell, and its connections with the Greenlees, the Reids, the Moffetts, the Prestons, the Moores, and others of whom I have not time to tell, but which your own memory will supply, what a blank would appear in that catalogue of stars whose light shines upon us so delightfully from every sphere of genius, moral worth, valor, true piety and high statesmanship, and which, we fondly hope, will shine upon our children for generations and ages to come! *Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, June 22, 1870, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.*

The oldest child of John and Magdalena Woods McDowell, Samuel was born on October 29, 1735 (November 7, 1735 New Style, Calendar Act of 1751) in Pennsylvania. Samuel grew up on the newly-settled frontier of the Shenandoah Valley. When Samuel was only seven years old his father was killed by an Indian war party. Fortunately for Samuel he was from a close-knit family who helped him grow as a strong individual. The important people in Samuel's life included among others, his mother Magdalena, his two grandfathers Ephraim McDowell and Michael Woods Sr., and his uncles James McDowell and Richard Woods.

John, the son of Ephraim and Margaret Irvine McDowell, was born in Ulster, in the north of Ireland about 1714. John's mother died in 1728 and is buried in Raloo, Londonderry, Northern Ireland. In 1729 John, with his father Ephraim, brother James, sisters Margaretta and Mary Elizabeth, Mary Elizabeth's husband James Greenlee and other extended family members immigrated to America from perhaps Lanford County in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> They sailed from Ireland possibly on a ship named *John of Dublin* in May of 1729, arriving in Delaware that summer. From there the family moved to Philadelphia where they settled on September 4, 1729. In 1732 the family moved to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, where they joined Ephraim's brothers Alexander, John, and William. The brothers had emigrated in 1718 or 1719. It is known that Alexander had established himself in a shipping business. Following a stay of unknown duration Ephraim and his family moved back to Pennsylvania.

John was a well-educated man and a practical and skillful surveyor.

He married Magdalena Woods on December 14, 1734. Magdalena was born November 17, 1712, at Castle Dunshanglin, County Meath, Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Magdalena and her family may have emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania at about the same time as the McDowells. Some sources suggest that she was on the same ship as John. Magdalena's parents were Michael and Mary Campbell Woods Sr. Michael was born in the north of Ireland in 1684. His wife Mary was of the Campbell Clan and a direct descendant of the Earls of Argyle. Like the McDowells, the Woods family landed on the banks of the Delaware from whence they traveled to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where they lived for several years.

In 1734 Magdalena's father Michael Woods Sr. was the first European to settle in the Blue Ridge Mountain area of Goochland, which in 1744 became Albemarle County, Virginia. While most of the settlers in Albemarle County followed a gradual westward migration from the Tidewater, the Woods party did not. Michael along with other family members and friends journeyed 225 miles to reach this destination. They traveled from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, up the Shenandoah Valley to the area a few miles north of present-day Waynesboro, Virginia. From there they used an old Indian trail through a pass to cross to the east side of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Woods entered a claim for 1,300 acres on Mechum River and Lickinghole Creek. He also purchased and settled on a 2,006-acre plot on the headwaters of Ivy Creek which he called "Mountain Plains." He registered this property in 1737. The pass that they used to cross the Blue Ridge became known as Wood's Gap after the family. The gap was renamed Jarman's Gap around 1800 when Thomas Jarman purchased the property. Michael Woods died in 1762 and was buried in the family burying ground a short distance from the family house.<sup>3</sup>

In 1617 the Virginia House of Burgesses enacted legislation whereby every person whether male or female for the purpose of settlement in the colony was entitled to fifty acres of land for each family member.<sup>4</sup> The Scots-Irish were discontented living in Pennsylvania. Governors John and Thomas Penn were pushing people to the western frontier, which was encroaching on Delaware Indian land. Quakers who controlled the Pennsylvania Provincial Counsel were not willing to defend themselves against the Indians. The McDowell family determined to leave Pennsylvania and join Ephraim's kinsman, John Lewis, who had also been Ephraim's former neighbor in Ireland. John Lewis had settled on land called Bellefonte on Beverley Manor near present-day Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley.

While this tract was situated on the west side of the Blue Ridge mountains, settling on the Beverley Manor Tract also had the advantage of being fairly close to where Magdalena's father Michel settled on the east side.

In the spring of 1737 John's brother James established a land claim by staking out a parcel and planting a crop of corn. The claim was located on the South River in Beverley Manor of the Shenandoah Valley opposite Wood's Gap. Later that year the McDowells left Pennsylvania and initiated their move south. While on their way to James's claim they camped on Linnville/Sewell's Creek located in Orange County, which is now Rockingham County. That evening they met a hungry and weary traveler named Benjamin Borden Sr. (also spelled Burden) who asked if he could share their hospitality. Borden had been granted a large tract (100,000 acres) from Governor Gooch of Virginia at the headwaters of the James River. In order to secure this grant, Borden needed to get one hundred families to settle on his land. Each family who settled would receive one hundred acres, and once a permanent cabin was built they could purchase an adjoining one hundred acres for one shilling an acre. Borden told the McDowell family that he was looking for but could not find his land. Borden offered one thousand acres to anyone who could find the land and mark it out for him. Utilizing the light of the campfire, John responded to Borden's statement by removing a canvas covering and showing Borden his surveying tools. McDowell and Borden immediately struck a deal that caused a change of destination for the McDowells, a change which was to firmly establish the McDowell family on the Borden tract rather than at Beverley Manor.

The McDowells and Borden then set out for John Lewis's home, Bellefonte, where they stayed for a few days. While there, on September 19, 1737, Borden formerly engaged John to survey his land in return for one thousand acres. The contract said in part that John McDowell, "would go now with his family and his father and his Brothers and make four Settlements in the said Borden's land which was granted to the said Borden on this side of the blue ridge in the fork of said River, and said McDowell would cut a good Road for Horses loaded with common Luggage and blaze the Trees all the way plain ...". The entire group then went to a spring near where Steeles Tavern is located today and the men began surveying Borden's land.<sup>5</sup> John spent the next five years surveying the grant for Borden. During that time, he also built a log house on his one thousand-acre plot that was located on Timber Ridge in what was formerly Augusta and is now Rockbridge County, Virginia. This land with rich limestone springs, fertile topsoil, and



good bottom land was located just a few miles north of the present-day city of Lexington. John stained the logs of his house ochre and called his estate Cherry Grove. Over time his house came to be known to the locals as Red House. John cleared the land of its massive trees and stone, planted crops of hemp, rye, and wheat and began to build herds of horses, cattle, and sheep. During this same time Magdalena had two more children who were named James and Sarah. John acted as the land agent representing Borden's interest. As more people arrived and the settlement grew, John's home became the center of the community as well as the sales office for the Borden Grant. McDowell kindred, friends, and fellow Presbyterians such as the McClungs, McCues, McCowns, McElroys, McKees, McCambells, McPheeters, Campbells, Stuarts, Paxtons, Lyles, Irvines, Caldwells, Calhouns, Alexanders, Cloyds and others from Pennsylvania, Ireland and Scotland, helped to settle the area enabling Borden obtain the requisite one hundred families needed to qualify his claim.<sup>6</sup>

The first official record that mentions Samuel McDowell was recorded on February 28, 1739. It was at this time that his father John swore an oath at the Orange County Virginia Court that he, his wife Magdalena, son Samuel, father Ephraim, and servant John Rutter, settled in Virginia proving their right to obtain land. This qualified each for a headright for fifty acres of land.<sup>7</sup> John flourished at his new home and gained prominence as a leader within the community.<sup>8</sup>

### **Death of John McDowell at Galudoghson (Balcony Falls) 1742**

The Great Warriors Path was a Native American trail that the Indians of various tribes historically used for trade and for conducting war. The path was located along the eastern side of the Allegheny Mountains that ran from Niagara Falls to deep within Georgia. The Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy consisted from east to west of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes who lived in present-day New York. Later in 1722 the Tuscarora tribe, which had been displaced by white settlement in North Carolina, moved to New York. They were accepted as the sixth Nation of the Confederacy. The Iroquois Confederacy was a fierce and powerful league that held dominion over most of its neighbors from Ohio to North Carolina and controlled the section of the path located in Virginia for hundreds of years by right of conquest. The Catawba were a powerful tribe (People of the River) that lived along the Catawba River on the present-day border of North and South Carolina. They competed

with the Iroquois for the rich hunting grounds in Ohio. As per the terms of the 1725 Treaty of Conestoga, the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy) agreed to limit their travels south on the western Pennsylvania war paths when raiding southern tribes. This concession was made by the Iroquois to prevent accidental conflicts with settlers along the path. In July 1742 the representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy traveled to Philadelphia to collect their last payment for lands previously sold on the Lower Susquehanna. At that meeting Onondaga orator Canasatego complained that the people of Maryland and Virginia had never made any consideration to the Iroquois for backcountry lands that they occupied and that were owned by the Iroquois by right of conquest. Canasatego threatened that the land had been bought with blood and they would exact payment in blood if needed to obtain compensation.

In the summer of 1742 there was also an unsubstantiated rumor of a western Indian uprising on the Virginia frontier. The people of Augusta County were concerned for their safety and petitioned Governor Gooch for the appointment of militia officers who could organize the men for the defense of the frontier. John McDowell's name was at the top of the list sent to the governor. On August 26, 1742, John was commissioned as captain of the Augusta County Militia by Governor Gooch. In addition, among other Augusta County men, James Patton was commissioned as colonel, John Buchanan was commissioned as a captain and John McDowell's brother James was commissioned as a lieutenant.<sup>9</sup>

The Onondaga Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy, located in what is now central New York, had a chief named Jonnhatty (Captain Onondagoe). Jonnhatty led a raiding party of twenty-nine Iroquois Indians consisting of twenty-two Onondaga and seven neighboring Oneidas from Shamokin (Big Island), a village on the Susquehanna River, south to attack the Catawba tribe in North Carolina. Jonnhatty obtained a letter dated October 9, 1742, from James Silver of Harris Ferry, Pennsylvania, directing them to see Justice Hogg of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to obtain a pass to travel south to Virginia. Justice Hogg gave them the pass to travel through Pennsylvania but warned Jonnhatty that the Virginia settlers were preparing for war because of Canasetego's threat. Jonnhatty ignored this warning from Justice Hogg. Perhaps because he did not speak English he did not understand this warning. Whether he understood the warning and its potential consequences or not he led the war party south into the Shenandoah Valley. This action was to have fateful consequences to the life of Samuel.

When Jonnhatty and his party reached Virginia they were treated with suspicion. While the Iroquois were allies of the British and well known in New York and in Pennsylvanian, they were a novelty in Virginia. The Iroquois raiders and the whites were unable to communicate and unfortunately, the Iroquois were unable to explain to the settlers their purpose. In addition the Virginians mistakenly thought that the Indians were either Delaware or Shawnees whose nations were not currently on good terms with the whites. The Indians who were fully armed for war reached Red House and requested permission to hunt for a week and pass through the area. Each side was extremely wary of the other and both sides expected treachery. Captain John McDowell gave them some provisions and some whiskey and directed them to hunt in the area of the South Branch of the North River. The Indians did not have success hunting so they killed some of the settlers' livestock and shot some horses. The aggrieved settlers petitioned Colonel James Patton for succor. Patton ordered Captain McDowell and Captain John Buchanan to raise their militia companies for the purpose of escorting the Indians to the south of the settlements. McDowell and Buchanan raised a company of thirty-three men and marched off to where the Indians were hunting. The Indians learned that the militia was coming and started to head south. The militia caught up with the Indians and tried to communicate to them that they would escort them out of the settlement. The men of both sides were extremely nervous and had their weapons in hand ready for use. At some point when the column reached a place called Galudoghson (present day Balcony Falls) near the mouth of the North River (Maury River) a lame Indian fell behind the column and then left the path to attend a call of nature. One of the nervous militiamen suspecting foul play shot at the Indian without orders and wounded him. The remaining Indians instantly attacked the main body of militia at the sound of the shot. Captain John McDowell who was leading the column was hit in the head, the left breast and in the body. Two other men including the man carrying the flag were killed outright.<sup>10</sup> The Indians then continued the attack with tomahawks against the remaining militiamen who defended themselves with muskets. The fight continued for about ten minutes during which time both sides delivered several volleys. Solomon Maffett of Buchanan's company particularly distinguished himself by rallying the men who were disconcerted by the fall of Captain McDowell. In the ensuing fight five militiamen and eight Indians were killed and three militia men and six Indians were wounded.<sup>11</sup>

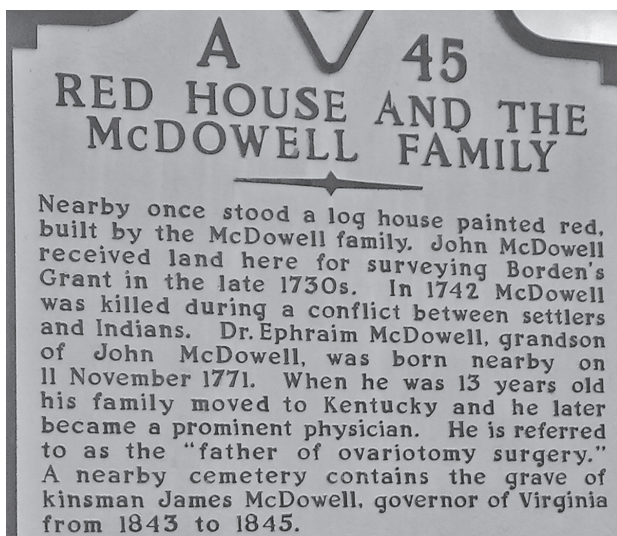
The Indians retreated to attend to their wounded and were followed by about eight of the militiamen. The fight continued with arrows against rifles. The entire skirmish lasted about an hour but the significant portion took place within the first ten minutes. Most of the Augusta County men were too nervous to collect the dead and left for the safety of Timber Ridge. Captain Buchanan with Lieutenant James McDowell and presumably Ephraim McDowell rallied the others and reluctantly followed. About fourteen miles from the skirmish Colonel Patton was encountered with twenty-three men. Patton's purpose was to aid with the removal of the Indians. Hearing of the bloody encounter he suggested that the retreating men join him and return to the site of the fight. Most of the men were however still too nervous to immediately return so it was decided to get supplies at Timber Ridge and return the next day.<sup>12</sup>

The Indians returned to the site of the conflict early the next morning to recover their dead. They stripped the whites who had fallen but apparently did not scalp them as James McDowell did not mention that in his account of the affair that was published in the March 11, 1743, edition of the *Virginia Gazette*. After recovering some horses and provisions and other articles left at the site during the heat of battle the Indians retreated to Shamokin in two groups. Colonel Patton and the militia arrived later and recovered Captain McDowell and the other seven dead militiamen. The dead were brought to Red House where Magdalena helped prepare the bodies of her husband and the others for burial in a new graveyard that was established for the fallen. John and the other seven are said to be the first white men to die in conflict in the Valley.

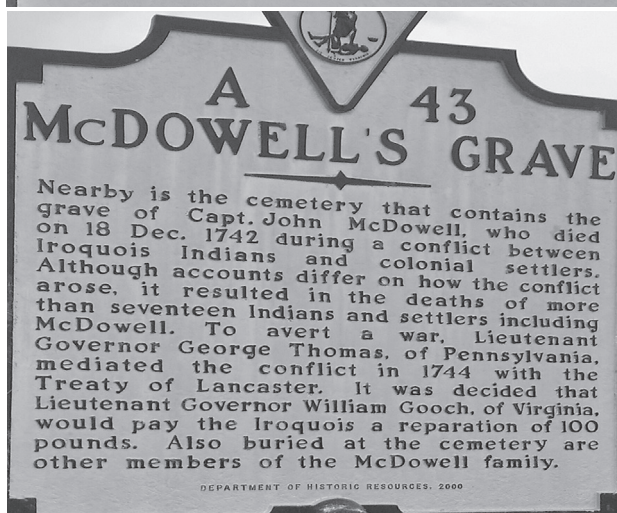
Rev. W. W, Foote, in *Sketches of Virginia* (1856) wrote the following:

The burial place of these men, the first perhaps of the Saxon race ever committed to the dust in Rockbridge County, you may find in a brick enclosure on the west side of the road from Staunton to Lexington near the red house of 'Maryland Tavern' formerly the residence of John McDowell. Entering the iron gate and inclining to the left about fifteen paces, one may find a low unhewn limestone tomb, about two feet in height, on which in rude letters, by an unknown unpracticed hand, is the following crude inscription

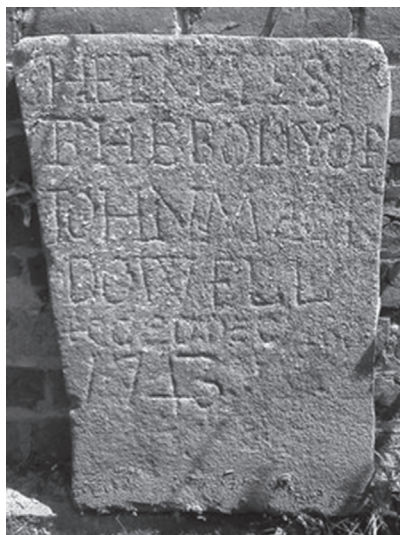
Heer lyes  
the Boddy of John Mack  
Dowell  
Died  
December 1743"



*Virginia Historical Highway markers about the McDowell family, home, and cemetery. (Courtesy Timothy McDowell)*



*The grave of Capt. John McDowell, located in the Red House cemetery, just off of U.S. Rt. 11 in northern Rockbridge County.. (Courtesy Dennis Boyer)*



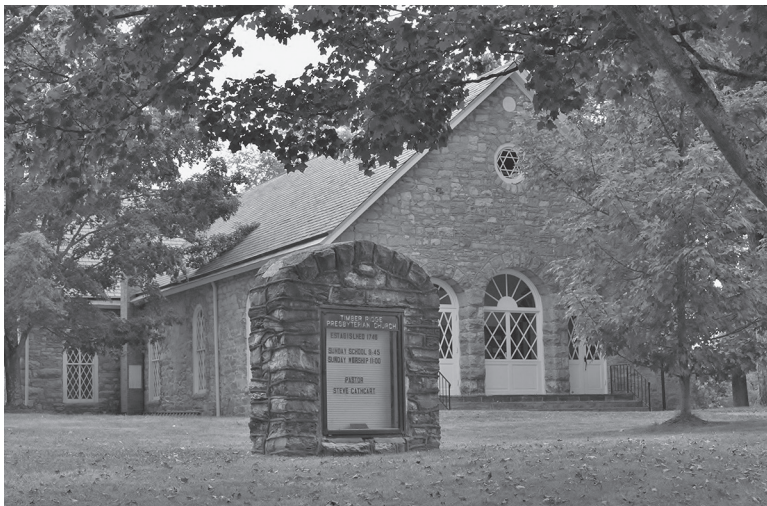


The impact and repercussions of this encounter were huge on a continental level. The Iroquois had been steadfast allies of the British against the French for generations. Now the Iroquois, who were in their minds were only exercising their age-old right of raiding the Catawba, and had even obtained a pass to do so, were on the brink of war with the Virginians. In the battle's aftermath, in a successful effort to avoid all-out war with the multiple nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, Lieutenant Governor George Thomas of Pennsylvania negotiated the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744. At this treaty agreement was reached that Virginia's Lieutenant Governor William Gooch would pay the Iroquois a reparation of one hundred pounds sterling.<sup>13</sup>

John McDowell had done well for himself during his brief time at Timber Ridge. Magdalena gave bond on March 24, 1743, as Administratrix of John's estate. In addition to the vast tract of land that he owned, his estate included 13 horses, 18 cattle, 7 sheep, a still, 2 slaves and 1 servant. The value of which was 216 pounds, 4 shillings and ½ pence.<sup>14</sup>

### **Young Samuel McDowell**

Samuel McDowell grew up on the frontier. In his youth he had the good fortune to receive an excellent education that served him well as an adult as shown by his eloquent vocal and written works in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, the Virginia Conventions that ushered Virginia into the Revolutionary War, and the Conventions for Kentucky Statehood. He received his education from his great uncle Alexander McDowell who had been liberally educated in Ireland.<sup>15</sup> Samuel also at one time studied under Archibald Alexander.<sup>16</sup> While his education was neither collegiate or classical, it was far better than most obtained on the frontier. Samuel's contemporaries respected him for his strong common sense, an integrity that never bent, for an uprightness of conduct as unassailable in public as it was in private life, and for a pleasing simplicity of character. Samuel's numerous existing letters reflect that he was an intelligent, articulate, well-read man. His letters to his numerous children show that he was also a caring, loving man who provided leveled-headed, practical advice to those he loved. Like his father, Samuel became a skilled surveyor, a vocation that started at age ten or eleven when he carried the chain for surveying parties. During his early years he got to know the lands in and around the Borden Grant extremely well. One of the jobs that he performed when he was twenty-two was to view a new road from Timber Ridge Meeting House to Isaac Taylors as documented in the Augusta County historical record on



*Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church (Courtesy Timothy McDowell)*

November 21, 1767. In 1772 Samuel was named by the Governor's Privy Council and the House of Burgesses as a trustee in charge of laying out a and clearing a road from Warm Springs to Jennings Gap<sup>17</sup>

While he lost his father at age six he had strong male and female influences who helped shape his character. His uncle Richard Woods was appointed his guardian. Richard was one of the first settlers on the Borden Grant. He obtained a parcel of land south of present-day Lexington on Woods Creek that was named for him. Richard was present at Captain John McDowell's death at Balcony Falls.<sup>18</sup> He was regarded as a prominent settler holding many public offices including numerous terms as Justice of Augusta County,<sup>19</sup> as a Processioner (walking boundary lines), and in 1759 served as Sheriff.<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps more importantly for Samuel McDowell, he was the grandson of the intrepid Ephraim McDowell. Ephraim was a Scots-Irish patriot in the English Revolution of 1688 and was truly a child of the Covenant who lived to be 102 years old.<sup>21</sup> Ephraim was born about March 3, 1673, in County Londonderry in Ulster. His profession in his early years was as a blacksmith working in Glencoe near Larne in Antrim. Ephraim's father Abraham and grandfather Thomas had left the Galloway area of southwest Scotland about 1650 during the English Civil War. At the young age of sixteen on December 9, 1688, Ephraim helped secure the gates and defend Londonderry against the rebelling native Irish army of McDonnell of Antrim. Ephraim later fought for King William III of England at the July 12, 1690, battle of the Boyne River. Ephraim was reputedly almost seven feet tall, of stalwart frame and said to be of a terrible countenance.<sup>22</sup>

When Ephraim was fifty-seven or fifty-eight years old he immigrated to Pennsylvania with his family as mentioned above and helped his sons John and James establish a home on the frontier. He led a long prosperous life, was an intelligent, strong and honest man, and had the good fortune to have retained his full faculties until his death on March 2, 1776, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County. By that time, he had established a rather large estate. He was esteemed by all for his intelligence, usefulness, and probity wielding a singular influence on all he encountered. It is said that Ephraim built the first road across the Blue Ridge Mountains connecting the piedmont of Virginia with the Shenandoah Valley. He was buried near his son John in the enclosed McDowell family cemetery located near Fairfield between Lexington and Staunton. From Ephraim, Samuel would have learned self-reliance, love of liberty, and fear of God. Additionally, Samuel would have received a strong influence from his uncle James. Like his father John, Samuel's uncle James McDowell was also a leader of men. James was a lieutenant of the militia who along with his father Ephraim were with John at the ambush at Balcony Falls where John was killed by Indians. In 1741 James was appointed Constable of Orange County.<sup>23</sup> James was a prosperous prominent man of good moral character who would have looked out for his sister-in-law Magdalena and her family.

Samuel's mother Magdalena was a strong woman in her own right and likely was the one who molded Samuel into the man he became. She was said to be a strikingly beautiful woman with blonde hair who was noted for riding on a white stallion wearing a green velvet riding habit that fell to the ground and with a hat with twelve ostrich plumes. Somehow as a young thirty-one-year-old widow with a substantial estate, she managed her affairs and provided for her young family. In addition Samuel's maternal grandfather Michael Woods Sr., who lived on the east side of Woods Gap in Albemarle County, would have also provided a strong if infrequent influence on Samuel as he grew to manhood. Growing up on the frontier with a strong determined mother and the additional strong masculine influences provided by his grandfathers Ephraim and Michael and his uncles James and Richard to shape his character, Samuel would have learned to become self-reliant, inured to hardship and indifferent to danger.

In early 1742 a visitor received by John and Magdalena was Benjamin Borden, Jr. Although Benjamin Borden Sr.'s son, he was viewed with coldness and suspicion by Magdalena and the other settlers. This was due in part from the fact that he, Benjamin Borden Jr., was interested in

Magdalena even before her husband John had died. Benjamin Borden Sr. lived on the Borden Grant administering his affairs until shortly before his death in 1742. Shortly after his death his son Benjamin Borden Jr. returned to manage his inheritance. At first during this time Magdalena and Benjamin Borden Jr. did not get along squabbling over title to lands, which John McDowell previously had secured from Borden's father. Eventually Magdalena married Benjamin Borden Jr. in 1744 and that union effectively settled the claims. The family moved shortly after this from Red House on Timber Ridge to a new residence built by Benjamin Borden Jr. The house, called Thorn Hill, was built on land that was paid to John McDowell by the Bordens for surveying and helping to bring in settlers to the grant so the Bordens could retain it. Located on Woods Creek about two miles southwest of Lexington, Thorn Hill was an elegant mansion and is still standing. Thorn Hill was to be Samuel's home as he grew from childhood to manhood.

In the spring of 1753 a smallpox epidemic hit the Borden Grant area of the Shenandoah Valley. Samuel, his brother James, his sister Sarah, stepfather Benjamin Borden Jr., two step sisters, and some other household members all became sick. That April Samuel lost his stepfather Benjamin Borden Jr. and a step sister who died of the disease. The other family members survived.<sup>24</sup>

During the ten years that he lived on the tract Benjamin Borden Jr. had risen in the estimation of the settlers. Mary McDowell Greenlee, Samuel aunt, stated that Borden was a good man and disposed to do justice to others. He would have also have been a positive influence on Samuel in his adolescent years. As his stepfather from age eight to seventeen he would have provided paternal guidance and instruction on how to conduct business and manage affairs. Later in life Samuel stated that Benjamin Borden was honest and upright, generally well thought of and that he gave satisfaction in the management of his estate.

Magdalena was once again left a widow. This time however, thanks in part to Benjamin Borden Jr.'s business acumen, she was now one of the wealthiest women in Virginia. She married a third time shortly before or about November 1754 to John Bowyer, a man who arrived earlier that year as a young school teacher. When John arrived in the valley, he owned just his books, a horse, and a set of clothes typical of a man of that station. John was twenty years Magdalena's junior and perhaps only four years older than Samuel. There were no children from this union. It is said that the

marriage was a mistake and not a happy one. Magdalena died after 1796 in Augusta County and was buried at Thorn Hill.<sup>25</sup> It is said that Magdalena had Bowyer sign pre-nuptial papers to protect her estate for her children prior to their marriage and that Bowyer tossed them into the fire prior to her death. Whether this is true or not, the estate passed into the hands of the Bowyer family.

When Samuel came of age he inherited his father's estate. Samuel declined the rules of primogeniture and opted to divide the estate with his siblings James and Sarah. When Samuel was nineteen or twenty years old in 1755, he sold 1,359 acres to John Paul. This parcel included his father's Red House homestead.<sup>26</sup> At this time Samuel took over legal responsibility of the farm and land that he retained and applied himself to making it thrive. Indicators of Samuel's success as a planter are the 1766, 1767, and 1768 hemp certificate records that show that Samuel was one of the biggest hemp growers in Augusta County.<sup>27</sup> Samuel married Mary McClung, who was said to have been a great beauty, on January 17, 1754.<sup>28</sup> She was a native of Ireland. Prior to their marriage Mary immigrated to America with a sister and four brothers and settled in Augusta County. Her father was William McClung.

Samuel and Mary were married for sixty-three years. His letters that he wrote when he lived in Kentucky show that it was a long, happy marriage. They had the following twelve children:

Magdalen was born October 9, 1755, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. She married Andrew Reid

Sarah (twin to Magdalen) married Presbyterian minister Caleb Wallace of Charlotte (now Botetourt) County Virginia. She died eight months after her marriage

Major John McDowell was born on December 7, 1757, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. He died on July 8, 1735 in Danville, Mercer (now Boyle) County Kentucky. His first wife was Sarah McDowell. She was born in 1762 and died in 1802 in Bowling Green, Warren County Kentucky. His second wife was Lucy Legrand. His third wife was Jenny Lyle who died in 1822

Colonel James McDowell was born on April 29, 1760, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. He died December 31, 1843, in Fayette County Kentucky. He married Mary Paxton "Polly" Lyle, daughter of John Lyle and Isabella Paxton in 1799 in Rockbridge County, Virginia. Polly was born November 18, 1763, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County, Virginia, and died in 1843 in Fayette County Kentucky

Judge William McDowell was born on March 9, 1762, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. He died in 1821. He married Margaretta ("Peggy") Madison, a cousin of President James Madison

Samuel Jr. was born March 8, 1764, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia and died about 1834. He married Anne Irvine, daughter of



Abram Irvine. Anne was born in 1763 and died in 1816. Samuel Jr's second wife was Susan S. Kyles

Martha McDowell was born on June 26, 1766, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. She died on July 6, 1835 in Georgetown, Scott County Kentucky. Her husband was Colonel Abram Buford. They were married on October 4, 1788 in Kentucky. Abram was born on July 31, 1749 in Virginia and he died on June 29, 1833 in Kentucky

Colonel Joseph McDowell was born on September 13, 1768, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. He died on June 27, 1856 in Danville, Boyle County Kentucky. He married Sarah Irvine who was the daughter of Abram Irvine and sister of Anna Irvine on September 27, 1794 in Mercer County Kentucky. Sarah was born on May 21, 1773 and she died on December 20, 1835

Doctor Ephraim McDowell was born on November 11, 1771, near Fairfield, Augusta (now Rockbridge) County. He died on June 20, 1830. His wife was Sarah "Sally" Simpson Shelby who was the daughter of General Isaac Shelby, first Governor of Kentucky, and Susannah Hart. Ephraim and Sally were married on December 30, 1802, in Lincoln County Kentucky. Sally was born on October 8, 1785, at the family home Traveler's Rest, Lincoln County Kentucky. She died on October 17, 1846, at Traveler's Rest

Mary (Lucy or Polly) McDowell was born on January 11, 1774, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County Virginia. She died on January 27, 1822, in Washington, Mason County Kentucky. She married Alexander Keith Marshall on October 10, 1794 in Danville, Mercer (now Boyle) County Kentucky. Alexander was born about 1768 in Fauquier County Virginia.

He died on February 7, 1825 in Mason County Kentucky

Caleb Wallace McDowell was born on April 17, 1776, He died in 1811 in Kentucky. He married Elizabeth "Betsy" McDowell daughter of Colonel Joseph McDowell and Margaret Moffett of North Carolina. Andrew Reid McDowell was born in September 1778, died unmarried.<sup>29</sup>

## **French and Indian War - Braddock's Defeat 1755**

Samuel grew up to be six feet, six inches tall and must have cut quite an opposing figure as an adult. He was well-formed, handsome, and had intelligent and confident features that included a high, square and prominent forehead. The first record of Samuel's military career was when he mustered in the militia on July 9, 1755, at age nineteen and served as a private in his kinsman Captain Samuel Lewis's company.<sup>30</sup> Other Lewis men who served in this company were Samuel Lewis's four brothers; Andrew who was the company lieutenant, and Thomas, William, and Charles who served as privates.<sup>31</sup> These brothers' lives will be shown to become intertwined with Samuel McDowell's and in the history of Augusta County and that of Virginia.

In the summer of 1755, during the early days of the French and Indian War, General Edward Braddock called out the militia of Virginia to serve in his expedition against the French and their Indian allies in the Ohio country. Braddock's campaign was the largest British-led expedition in the colonies

and his first objective was French-held Fort Duquesne, located deep in the wilderness where the forks of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers meet to form the Ohio River. This strategic location, which controlled access to the interior of the continent, is where the city of Pittsburgh stands today. Braddock's army was 2,100 men strong. His command consisted of two regular line regiments, the 44th and 48th consisting of about 1,350 men. In addition, he had about 500 regular soldiers and militiamen from several of the British American colonies, and another 250 men in the artillery and other support troops. The army set out from Fort Cumberland in Maryland on May 29, 1755. The expedition faced an enormous logistical challenge: moving a large body of men with equipment and provisions and most importantly heavy cannons for attacking the forts, 110 miles across the densely-wooded Allegheny Mountains and into western Pennsylvania. Progress was slow as axmen had to cut a twelve-foot wide road so that wagons and artillery could traverse the entire distance of the march. Progress was further impeded as tons of equipment and supplies were agonizingly carried over mountains and across wetlands. On June 16 or 17 when at Little Meadows, Braddock determined to hasten the pace. Leaving about one-third of his force to march with the supply train under the command of Colonel Dunbar of the 48th, Braddock pressed on through the forest with a flying column of about 1,400 men.<sup>32</sup> The flying column made better time and managed to close the distance to Fort Duquesne without any major incidents beyond minor skirmishes with Indian scouting parties. Although the British were easily able to brush aside the Indians who harassed them as they advanced, the men were intimidated along the route by scalps left hanging in trees and by rude messages scrawled on other trees that had been stripped of bark.<sup>33</sup>

The French garrison of Fort Duquesne consisted of only about 254 regulars and Canadian militia with about 600 to 700 Indian allies who camped outside the fort.<sup>34</sup> The Indians who had gathered from all over the Great Lakes area consisted of over twenty Native American tribes with the majority from the Ottawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi tribes. The French commander, Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, planned to ambush the British column as it crossed the Monongahela River where he believed it would be most vulnerable. His Indian allies were initially reluctant to attack such a large British force, but Beaujeu, who dressed himself in full war regalia complete with war paint, convinced them to follow his lead. Soon after midday on July 9, after fording the Monongahela River ten miles or so from Fort Duquesne, Braddock's vanguard under the command of General Charles

Gage proceeded up the forest covered ridge on the west side of the river. The French force, which had made a late start, were hurrying to the river. Behind schedule and too late to set an ambush, they unexpectedly collided with the British column. In the skirmish that followed, Gage's soldiers initially held the upper hand. Gage formed his grenadiers and had them fire three volleys. He also immediately deployed his cannon and ordered his guns to shell the woods in their front. The French commander, Beaujeu, was killed by the first volley of musket fire by the grenadiers. Although some one hundred French Canadians fled back to the fort and the noise of the cannon held the Indians off, Beaujeu's death did not have a negative effect on French and Indian morale; Jean-Daniel Dumas, a French officer, rallied the rest of the French and their Indian allies. Fiendish war-whoops sent chills down British and colonial militiamen spines as the Indians darted down each flank of the British column and caught them in a cross-fire. At the same time the rallied French blocked the front. The Indians hit Gage's men with a withering fire. Attacked from the front and both flanks Gage's advance group fell back. In the narrow confines of the road they collided with the main body of Braddock's force that had advanced rapidly when the first shots were heard. The British force maintained their discipline and returned ordered volley fire with little effect on the Indians who were spread out and sheltered behind trees. The British however presented a mass target that the Indian fire could not miss.<sup>35</sup>

Little has been written regarding the situation and actions of Captain Lewis and his men. Howe states that the Augusta County men acquitted themselves well during the ambush. They were at the head of the march along with other Virginia men of Grant's Company when the attack commenced.<sup>36</sup> By midafternoon, the battle had raged for about three hours. With nearly one half his men and most of his officers either killed or wounded, Braddock gave the order to retreat. The men needed no encouragement when the drums gave the orders to withdraw. They wasted no time retreating down the road. It was at this point when Braddock, on his fifth horse as the other four had been shot down beneath him, was wounded in the arm and chest. At that time the British panicked and broke in a confused mass for the river. Braddock's aide, George Washington, ordered that Braddock be taken across the river to safety. As the middle section of Braddock's army raced to the river, the Virginians of Lewis and Grant's companies were cut off by French and Indian forces that swept down the hillside in pursuit.<sup>37</sup> Although severed from the rest of the army, in the confusion that followed, many of the members of Captain Lewis's Company managed to cut their way through the enemy lines and escape.<sup>38</sup>

George Washington was disgusted by what he saw. He later wrote that the terrified retreating men looked like "Sheep pursued by dogs."<sup>39</sup> The road was littered with the bodies of the dead and dying. Every fallen British soldier was tomahawked and scalped. Bodies were stripped and tons of equipment were seized as spoils.<sup>40</sup> Fortunately for the survivors of Lewis's company and the other survivors of the army, the Indians did not continue their pursuit across the river. Exhausted and frightened, the men of Lewis's company and others slowly regained their composure and continued their retreat. By evening of the following day some of the soldiers had fled forty miles and reached the banks of the Youghiogheny River. By dark the exhausted remnants, which included Braddock, reached the smoldering ruins Christopher Gist's farm. The next day, late in the morning, relief arrived when Dunbar appeared with his command. The army rested for two days as surgeons tended to the wounded. Braddock then gave the order to Colonel Dunbar to organize the retreat to Fort Cumberland, fifty miles away.<sup>41</sup> On July 13 as his life was ebbing away, Braddock resigned his command to Dunbar. The colonel gave the order to break camp and begin the march east. As severe as the defeat had been, the British army still outnumbered the French forces. The British however had no stomach for another encounter. In the retreat that followed to Fort Cumberland, all of the army's artillery, tons ammunition, equipment, provisions and supplies had been either lost at the site of the battle or destroyed to make room in the wagons for the wounded. Braddock died after traveling only one mile down the road that he had built. He was buried in a grave that was dug in the road. After a brief service the men continued their march over his grave which was purposely done to conceal its location from the French and their Indian allies. The battle had been a disaster.<sup>42</sup> Out of 1,469 British and Colonial militiamen engaged, 457 men were killed and an additional 519 were wounded.<sup>43</sup> Losses were severe in Captain Samuel Lewis's company of Augusta County men also. Many were killed and wounded. The wounded included three of the Lewis brothers: Samuel mortally, Andrew slightly, and William severely.<sup>44</sup>

Samuel McDowell survived and gained valuable military experience regarding Indian warfare. He was to put this knowledge to use twenty years later at the battle of Point Pleasant and later still at Guilford Courthouse. In 1775 Samuel was awarded a large tract of land consisting of two thousand acres in Fayette County for his services.<sup>45</sup> This land situated on the Elkhorn Creek branch of the Kentucky River was surveyed on July 11, 1775, by John Floyd and two others.<sup>46</sup>

## **Captain of Militia - Lord Dunmore's War 1774**

Samuel McDowell continued his militia duty following the disaster. The records show that he and his brother James patrolled the frontier on October 25, 1755. Samuel received four shillings for service from May 1, to June 7, 1757, in Captain Andrew Hayes Company.<sup>47</sup> Samuel later shows up as a private on the January 21, 1758, payroll for Captain Thomas Waggener's Company at Fort George, and a September 1758 record shows service as a private in Colonel John Buchanan's Augusta County Militia.<sup>48</sup>

On August 16, 1759, at the age of twenty-three, Samuel was commissioned as a captain of the Augusta County Militia.<sup>49</sup> The records show that he immediately began to hone his military skills by ranging the mountains of the frontier that November. He also began to hone his administrative skills by arranging for provisions and supplies and meting out discipline. In 1760, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, and in 1770 he submitted lists of his company's militia muster delinquents so that they could be summoned to the next court. The records also show that he served on the resultant Court Martials to mete out fines. Samuel himself was listed with the company delinquents in 1768 and was ordered by the Court on April 16, 1768, to explain why he and his company failed to attend the April 15, 1768, muster. The record does not show why he was acquitted of the charge.<sup>50</sup>

In the spring of 1774 tension between colonial frontiersmen and Shawnee, Mingo, and allied Indian tribes in the Ohio territory had again elevated. Augusta County Militia performed service by patrolling the frontier along the Louisa River and other places where the Indians might gain egress into the valley. The unrest caused the Royal Governor of Virginia, John Murray 4th Earl of Dunmore, to assemble a 2,500-man army for the purpose of invading Indian territory in the Ohio country. Dunmore called for the militia from the Virginia frontier to participate in the campaign.<sup>51</sup> In an August 22 letter to Colonel Preston, Reverend John Brown reported that Captain McDowell marched on Thursday last but not with his full contingent of seventy-five men allotted to him by Colonel Lewis. Reverend Brown reported that twenty-five of the men who were drafted had refused to go choosing instead to hazard the fine.<sup>52</sup> Captain McDowell's short company marched out on August 18, 1774, as ordered. The September 27, 1774, general return of Colonel Andrew Lewis's army at Elk River shows that Captain McDowell's Company was utilized as a Ranging Company composed of Scouts.<sup>53</sup> Captain McDowell's company at that time consisted of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants plus forty-four men fit for duty and one absent for a total of fifty-two officers and men.<sup>54</sup>



The Battle of Point Pleasant was the only major battle of Dunmore's War. The battle was fought between Virginia militia and Indians from the Shawnee, Mingo, and other allied tribes who lived along the Ohio River. Lord Dunmore had assembled two armies. One consisting of 1,700 men commanded by Dunmore would move down the Ohio from Fort Pitt (present-day Pittsburgh). The other army consisting of 800 men under Samuel's kinsman Colonel Andrew Lewis would travel down the Kanawha River from Camp Union (present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia). The two forces would rendezvous at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River on the Ohio and, once combined, march on and destroy the Indian towns along the Ohio. Lewis's force arrived at Point Pleasant first and set up camp while waiting for Dunmore's army to arrive. Indians, under the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk, knew that they could not defeat the combined force of the Virginia Militia known to the Shawnees as the Long Knives. The Indian villages, which would provide shelter and provisions for the winter, had to be defended at all costs. Cornstalk therefore determined to attack the isolated Virginia militia under Colonel Lewis at Point Pleasant at the confluence of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers before it was reinforced by Dunmore's column.

Early on the morning of Monday, October 10, two soldiers left the Lewis camp and proceeded up the Ohio River in quest of deer. When they had gone about two miles they unexpectedly came upon a party of Indians at an abandoned village. Upon sighting the two hunters, the Shawnees fired upon them and killed one. The other escaped unhurt and ran quickly back to the camp. He informed his comrades and Colonel Andrew Lewis "that he had seen a body of the enemy, covering five acres of ground, as closely as they could stand by the side of each other." Colonel Lewis immediately ordered the drummers to beat to arms for the men to shoulder their weapons and form in line. Colonel Lewis determined that the enemy party most likely constituted a large scouting party, so he ordered two detachments of 150 men each out to deal with them. The two parties were under the command of Colonels Charles Lewis (Andrew's brother) and William Fleming. Captain Samuel McDowell's short company was held in reserve. The Virginians marched in two lines six hundred feet apart with Lewis's men on the east side of Crooked Creek and Fleming's command on the left by the river. In the meantime, with the chance of surprise compromised, Chief Cornstalk ordered his warriors to the attack. When the Virginians were a quarter of a mile from their camp, Lewis's party encountered Indian



*Monument at the Battle of Point Pleasant in West Virginia.  
(Courtesy Timothy McDowell)*

warriors hiding behind brush and trees. The Indians opened fire and the Virginians returned fire. The initial attack went well for the Shawnees. The Virginians were caught by surprise and were outnumbered. Samuel's kinsman and officer Colonel Charles Lewis, with whom Samuel had fought at Braddock's defeat, fell mortally wounded. Colonel Fleming also fell desperately wounded and was removed to the rear. The Virginia line started to waver; the militiamen broke ranks and sought cover. Seeing the enemy falling back, the triumphant Shawnees came running to the kill with blood-curdling yells.<sup>55</sup> With the commanders of both companies removed, both units gave way and retreated briskly toward their camp. At this point they were met by reinforcements under Colonel Field, which included the Augusta County men under the command of Captain Samuel McDowell and others of the Augusta and Culpeper County Line.<sup>56</sup> The line rallied. The battle then became general and was sustained with the greatest fury on both sides. Colonel Field fell leading his men. For the rest of the day until early evening the Shawnee and Mingo warriors kept heavy pressure on the beleaguered Virginians. The Virginians however eventually wrested the initiative from the Shawnees and Mingos forcing the natives back until the Virginians were able to form a line extending across the point from

the Ohio to the Kanawha. Protecting themselves by using logs and fallen timber as breastworks the Virginians successfully resisted every Indian charge made on them. It was reported during the battle that the voice of Cornstalk could be heard loudly urging his warriors, "Fight and be strong! Be strong!"<sup>57</sup> but the Shawnees were eventually overwhelmed and defeated and the victory was won.<sup>58</sup>

The Virginians incurred 75 deaths and 140 wounded during the battle.<sup>59</sup> This was the last battle that the colonies of America would fight alongside the British. Those killed from the Augusta Line included Colonel Charles Lewis, Captain Samuel Wilson, Lieutenant Hugh Allen, and eighteen privates. In addition, two captains, two lieutenants, and fifty-one men were wounded. Colonel Field later died of his wounds.<sup>60</sup>

### **Judicial Career – Judge Samuel McDowell**

Samuel McDowell rendered good service to his community and state as a son of Virginia. Later in life when he lived in Kentucky he also rendered service on the federal level. McDowell's experiences in politics, judicial, military, and church activities nicely complemented each other and helped develop and prepare him to be the important man in our history that he became. His long distinguished judicial career started on June 11, 1757, when at the age of twenty-one he was named as a Justice of Augusta County.<sup>61</sup> As part of his military service he served on numerous Court Martials, which helped to hone his skills on the bench. He was again qualified and named as a Justice in 1763, 1765, 1768<sup>62</sup> and in 1773. Following this, on December 6, 1774, he was named as a Commissioner of the Peace and Dedimus and Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer and Dedimus of Augusta County by the Royal Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore. McDowell again qualified as Justice of Augusta County on July 16, 1776, and January 20, 1777. On February 17, 1778, McDowell was recommended to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia to be appointed as a Justice of newly formed Rockbridge County, which was established from parts of Augusta and Botetourt Counties by an act of Assembly passed in October of 1777.<sup>63</sup> Samuel also served Rockbridge County as the Sheriff. The county records show that on December 5, 1780, as Sheriff he protested against the insufficiency of the jail.<sup>64</sup>

### **Presbyterian Church and Founding of Washington and Lee University**

The McDowells have historically been described as devoted Presbyterians, followers of John Knox and Calvinists. Having grown up in a Pres-

byterian family it is no surprise that Samuel showed up as a communicant at Timber Ridge Presbyterian Meeting House in 1753. Later he was made an elder in the church. In an ironic development of colonial history in Augusta County, McDowell was also elected to the Anglican vestry. Although service as both an elder in the Presbyterian congregation and a member of the Anglican vestry seems to be a conflict in our modern minds, that was not the case in eighteenth-century Augusta County. When the county was settled there was no separation of church and state in Virginia. The colony had an established church that served as a wing of the local government – levying taxes, walking land boundary lines, resolving moral and social issues such as church attendance, drinking and swearing in public, and taking care of indigent and orphaned persons. Having an established church east of the Blue Ridge was not difficult, but Virginia governor William Gooch encouraged dissenters from Pennsylvania (mostly Presbyterian in Augusta County) to settle in the Upper Shenandoah Valley in order to act as a buffer between Virginia's eastern settlements and the French and Native Americans in the Ohio River Valley. He encouraged that settlement by relaxing the colony's religious toleration laws. As a consequence, when it came time for the settlers in the newly-formed county and parish of Augusta to elect its vestry, almost the entire vestry was Presbyterian because those were the land-holding leaders of the area. Although there was some mild protest in Williamsburg, the governor, recognizing the importance of the western settlements, let the leadership stand as elected, thus creating a leadership hierarchy that was, according to early historians, "Politically Anglican and doctrinally Presbyterian." Once the first vestry was elected by the white, land-holding men, the body became self-perpetuating, meaning that those who sat on the vestry filled vacancies as they arose. On May 15, 1770, McDowell was chosen as a vestryman at age thirty-five. He was named as a vestryman again on November 21, 1771.<sup>65</sup> Later in 1778 Samuel was named a vestryman for the newly-established Rockbridge County that was still acting under the laws of a colony with an established church.<sup>66</sup>

Despite serving on the Anglican vestry, McDowell, like his fellow Presbyterians, was an early and strong proponent of religious freedom. He supported the abolishment of the tithes, taxes and assessments that supported the state sponsored Anglican Church. In 1776 Samuel was a member of the Virginia legislature when it abolished entail and relieved dissenters of any obligation to support the established church with their taxes. At that time however, the valley delegates failed to get their key bill

to disestablish the Anglican Church passed. When the Hanover Presbytery met on April 25, 1777, it declared the policy of a state supported church as contrary to its principles and interest and subversive to religious liberty.<sup>67</sup> Years later, on April 28, 1780, the Presbytery of Hanover sent McDowell and Captain Johnson with a memorial prepared by the Presbytery to the Virginia Assembly petitioning that the Assembly refrain from interfering with the governance of the church. It was not until 1786 that a bill introduced to the Assembly by James Madison calling for religious freedom was finally passed.<sup>68</sup> Eventually the church was disestablished and the vestiges of the vestry became the overseers of the poor.

To the Presbyterians, church and education were almost the same. It was the basis for the Presbyterian faith that one should have the right to read the Bible and interpret the scriptures for themselves. To read the Bible meant that you had to be educated. Thus, Presbyterians put enormous emphasis on education. The pattern for the Scotch-Irish in the colonies was to establish a settlement, then a church, then next to the church a school. It was the same for the Presbyterian settlers of Augusta County and especially so for Samuel McDowell who was interested in providing for the education of his growing family.

On November 21, 1759, a deed of land was conveyed from Robert Houston to Samuel McDowell, John McClung, John Lyle, William Alexander, and John Tomson, all trustees of the Timber Ridge Meeting House for the purpose of establishing a school.<sup>69</sup> On this parcel Robert Alexander established a "Mathematical and Classical School" called the Augusta Academy.<sup>70</sup> Later, on May 13, 1776, in a burst of patriotic fervor Augusta Academy was renamed Liberty Hall. Major McDowell was appointed as a founding Trustee of Liberty College along with other prominent men including Charles and Andrew Lewis, Sampson Mathews, George Moffett, William Preston, and James Waddell.<sup>71</sup> The trustees were to collect subscriptions and donations and expend the monies and conduct all the concerns of the academy on behalf of the Presbytery. Samuel McDowell extended the search for funds to far off Williamsburg. McDowell's appeal urged all gentlemen who favored the public academy on Timber Ridge and whose "hearts are set for the promotion of learning and the good of their country [to] cheerfully make such liberal contributions as the may find compatible with their circumstances." In all McDowell obtained support for the school from some eighty-five members of the Governor's Privy Council, state senators, and delegates to the General Assembly who contributed





*The ruins of Liberty Hall in Lexington, Va. (Courtesy Timothy McDowell)*

250 pounds in pledges or cash.<sup>72</sup> The largest donor was General Thomas Nelson Jr. who in 1777 would be named to command Virginia's militia<sup>73</sup> and in 1781 become Governor of Virginia.

Reverend William Graham started classes in January of 1777. The school was public and non-sectarian. Tuition was four pounds per session. Boarding costs were six pounds six shillings. Due the abundance of timber, firewood was free but the students were expected to provide their own candles and their own bed. Each student was also expected to do their own laundry.<sup>74</sup> In 1777 McDowell was appointed Secretary of the Board of Trustees.<sup>75</sup> Students who boarded at McDowell's house paid fifty dollars per year. Classes were taught in a one-and-a-half story twenty-eight by twenty-four-foot log building. After Reverend Graham married Deborah Kerr accommodations were added to house the rector. In addition, buildings were erected to house a library and scientific apparatus costing about 160 pounds. Among the equipment was an air pump, electric machine, sextant, microscope, telescope, set of large maps, and a pair of large globes for the academy.<sup>76</sup> For a frontier school Liberty Hall was now well equipped to provide a through practical education in mathematics and the sciences to any student who wanted to learn.

Liberty Hall (today Washington and Lee University) was moved from Timber Ridge about 1779 and relocated to Lexington. In 1782 Liberty Hall was renamed Washington College and McDowell was reappointed as a member of the board of trustees under its new charter. In October of 1782 McDowell and the other trustees of Liberty Hall petitioned the Virginia Legislature for an act of incorporation for the school so that degrees could be bestowed upon the graduates.<sup>77</sup> It is now the ninth oldest institution of higher education in the country.<sup>78</sup>

## House of Burgesses - Virginia Conventions

McDowell's political career on a local level commenced on November 21, 1759, when he was installed as an Augusta County Commissioner. He again served as Commissioner of Augusta County in 1763<sup>79</sup> and 1775.<sup>80</sup> In 1765 Samuel McDowell, along with John Harvie and Thomas Lewis, represented Augusta County in the Virginia House of Burgesses which was the colonial legislature of Virginia. It was at this time that thirty-year-old McDowell was to take part in the events that led to the American Revolution. The French and Indian War that started in 1754 in America and was fought until 1763 in Europe, nearly doubled Britain's national debt. As much of the war had taken place in and around North America, the British government looked for ways of directly taxing the American colonies to pay for the war. As a means of raising revenue Parliament enacted the Stamp Act in 1765. The Burgesses of Virginia instructed their agent in London, Edward Montague, to oppose the measure, and other colonial legislatures similarly instructed their representatives. Considerable debate began over the proposed measure and in Virginia pamphleteers developed arguments to oppose it.<sup>81</sup>

In late May of 1765 word reached the Burgesses that the Stamp Act had passed. It was at that time that Patrick Henry gave his impassioned and celebrated Resolutions of Remonstrance speech, which was promptly ratified by the people of Augusta County. On May 29 Patrick Henry introduced the Virginia Stamp Act Resolves that consisted of seven resolutions.<sup>84</sup> The first two resolutions affirmed that the colonists had the same rights and privileges as Britons; the next two stated that taxation should be exacted only by one's representatives. The fifth was the most provocative as it named the Virginia legislature and the General Assembly as the representatives of Virginia empowered to tax. These five resolutions were passed by the Assembly.

On May 31, with Henry absent, the Burgesses expunged the fifth resolution. The Royal Governor, Francis Fauquier, refused to allow the other four resolutions to be printed in the official newspaper of the state, the *Virginia Gazette*. With the official texts of the passed resolutions denied them, newspapers in the colonies printed all seven resolutions as the resolves of the influential Colony of Virginia. The resolutions, more radical as a group than what was actually passed and thought to represent the first American reaction to the passage of the Stamp Act, reached Britain in mid-August. Elsewhere in North America they galvanized opposition to the Stamp Act and made Virginia the leader in opposition to Parliament's action.<sup>86</sup>

In 1773 and 1774 Samuel McDowell again represented Augusta County in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Tensions, which would boil over into the American Revolution, had also been rising for some time between Massachusetts and Great Britain. Parliament passed the Tea Act on May 10, 1773 which allowed the East India Company to sell tea directly to the Thirteen Colonies and threatened the livelihood of American merchants. In reaction the Sons of Liberty in Boston destroyed a shipment of tea in a protest that came to be known as the Boston Tea Party. In response, in an effort to punish Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party, the British Parliament passed the Coercive Acts (called the Intolerable Acts in the colonies) on March 25, 1774. The Intolerable Acts included the Boston Port Act which ordered the blockading the port of Boston to all maritime trade. It was at this time that the Virginia House of Burgesses approved June 1, 1774 as a day of "Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer" in a show of solidarity with the people of Massachusetts. The Royal Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, reacted to this insult to the crown by dissolving the Burgesses. In defiance of Dunmore, the Burgesses, including Samuel McDowell, then reassembled at Raleigh Tavern where on August 1, they constituted themselves in what became known as the First Virginia Convention. The convention declared its support for Massachusetts and called for a Continental Congress of the Thirteen Colonies to which it also elected delegates. It further banned commerce and payment of debts with Britain and pledged supplies to Massachusetts. In addition the members elected officers for the Convention including its president, Peyton Randolph, who was previously the speaker of the House of Burgesses.

The First Continental Congress was a meeting of delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies who met from September 5 to October 26, 1774, at Carpenters Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The First Continental Congress passed and signed the Continental Association that called for a boycott of British goods to take effect in December 1774. It requested that local Committees of Safety enforce the boycott and regulate local prices for goods. These resolutions adopted by the Congress did not endorse any legal power of Parliament to regulate trade but consented, nonetheless, to the operation of acts for that purpose. The First Continental Congress also passed the Declaration and Resolves stating that American colonists were equal to all other British citizens, protested against taxation without representation, and stated that Britain could not tax the colonists because they were not represented in Parliament. A petition was written and sent to King

George III explicitly acknowledging that they did not repudiate control by the royal prerogative but asked for redress of these grievances. The Congress also called for another Continental Congress in the event that their petition was unsuccessful in halting enforcement of the Intolerable Acts.

On February 22, 1775, Samuel McDowell and his kinsman Thomas Lewis were unanimously elected to represent Augusta County in the Second Virginia Convention.<sup>87</sup> The delegates to the Second Virginia Convention met on March 20, 1775, at St. John's Episcopal Church in Richmond. Peyton Randolph continued in his role as president.<sup>88</sup> It was obvious during this period that war clouds were gathering, and the business of the Second Virginia Convention was to prepare for war. It was good that the Virginians prepared as war started in earnest soon afterward with the battles of Concord and Lexington in Massachusetts on April 19, 1775. At that session McDowell and Lewis delivered to the delegates of the First Continental Congress from the colony of Virginia a letter of thanks from Augusta County for their services acknowledging approval of their actions. It was at this time on March 23 that Samuel and the other delegates witnessed Patrick Henry's famous "Give me liberty or give me death speech."<sup>89</sup> According to Edmund Randolph the convention sat in silence for several minutes afterward. Thomas Marshall told his son John Marshall, who later became Chief Justice of the United States, that the speech was "one of the most bold, vehement, and animated pieces of eloquence that had ever been delivered." Henry's speech is credited with having swung the balance of opinion in convincing the Second Virginia Convention to pass a resolution for raising regiments of Virginia troops for the Revolutionary War. It was then also resolved that the colony be "put into a posture of defense." A committee was selected to prepare a plan for raising an army. The speech was also a contributing factor in the decision by the Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore to remove the gunpowder from the Williamsburg magazine to a Royal Navy ship that resulted in the Gunpowder Incident. Before adjourning, the Second Virginia Convention selected delegates to the Second Continental Congress. McDowell was not selected as a delegate to the congress.

The appeal to the Crown by the First Continental Congress had no effect and so the Second Continental Congress was convened on May 10, 1775. The Second Continental Congress met to plan further responses if the British government did not repeal or modify the Intolerable Acts. Discussion was complicated by the fact that the American Revolutionary War had already started by that time and the Congress was called upon by the

various colonies to take charge of the war effort. The delegates worked to set the colonies on a war footing organizing the defense of the colonies. The delegates also urged each colony to set up and train its own militia. For the first few months of the war the patriots carried on their struggle in an ad-hoc and uncoordinated manner. They had seized arsenals, driven out royal officials, and besieged the British army in Boston. On June 14, 1775, Congress voted to create the Continental Army out of the militia units around Boston and appointed George Washington as commanding general. On July 6, 1775, Congress approved a Declaration of Causes outlining the rationale and necessity for taking up arms in the Thirteen Colonies. Two days later, on July 8, they extended the Olive Branch Petition to the British Crown as a final attempt at reconciliation. This was received in Britain too late to do any good.

In early June Lord Dunmore called the House of Burgesses to Richmond to consider the British Minister Lord North's Conciliatory Resolution. McDowell was in attendance at this session. The Conciliatory Resolution called on the Thirteen Colonies to lay down their arms and promised that any colony that agreed to raise taxes for the common defense of the colonies and for its own civil government would be relieved of additional taxation from Great Britain.<sup>90</sup> The Burgesses rejected Lord North's Conciliatory Resolution. The mood in Virginia was ugly. Fearing for his safety, Lord Dunmore fled the capital. On June 8 he took refuge on the British warship *HMS Fowey*. After Dunmore fled, a meeting of the delegates, including McDowell, was held on July 17, 1775, at St. John's Church. This meeting became known as the Third Virginia Convention. The convention created a Committee of Safety to take over governance as an executive body in the absence of the royal governor. The convention divided Virginia into sixteen military districts and resolved to raise regular regiments for the defense of Virginia. Augusta County was to provide four Militia Minuteman Companies of fifty men each. The convention ended August 26, 1775. The Committee of Safety however would continue to meet and govern between Convention sessions.<sup>91</sup>

Enthused with the Revolutionary Spirit, McDowell returned home from this Third Virginia Convention and erected a Liberty Pole (the first in the Valley) from a tall popular tree in his yard.<sup>92</sup> As Captain McDowell represented Augusta County, he attended a district meeting on September 8, 1775, to organize the battalion of Augusta County Militia Minutemen as required by the Third Virginia Convention.<sup>93</sup>



With this, the British declared that Virginia was in a state of rebellion and would be placed under martial law and promised freedom to any slaves who joined the British armed forces in suppressing the revolt. On December 1775, McDowell attended the Fourth Virginia Convention as the senior member from Augusta County.<sup>94</sup> Edmund Pendleton was elected to preside over the convention that authorized the raising of additional regiments of troops for the Continental cause. In a measure to recruit all men possible this measure gave the governor and his Privy Council temporary power to impress “rogues and vagabonds” into the military for Virginia service. The following May the General Assembly levied quotas on county militias for men to serve one-year enlistments in the Continental army to be filled through a draft lottery in February 1778.<sup>95</sup>

## **Revolutionary War**

Captain McDowell received eight hundred pounds from the Treasurer of Virginia Colony on January 13, 1776, for the purpose of paying the men of his company for service in Lord Dunmore’s War. Having played an instrumental part in causing all-out rebellion and war with Great Britain, Captain McDowell now had to prepare his Augusta County militia company to fight it. The militia was short on arms, provisions, supplies, and other material needed to become an effective fighting force. The records show that he helped in many ways:

He was reimbursed five pounds for furnishing a rifle for the use of Joseph Moore of Fontaine’s Company of the 2nd Regiment<sup>96</sup>

On June 11, 1776, a warrant was issued to Samuel McDowell, Esquire for seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and eight pence for a drum for the use of David Gray and for colors furnished to the Augusta County Militia<sup>97</sup>

On July 1, 1776, he received three shillings, three pence for forage for Wm. Rutherford’s horse of Captain Posey’s camp<sup>98</sup>

He received fifty-five pounds for recruiting a company of Rangers in Augusta County<sup>99</sup>

On July 16, 1776, sat on a Board of Commissioners to try Alexander Miller, a Tory, for providing intelligence to the enemy<sup>100</sup>

On October 16, 1776, he was reimbursed five pounds, ten shillings, and six pence for express hire, pasturage, beef, and salt furnished to the troops for the expedition against the Cherokees<sup>101</sup>

On December 19, 1776, issue was authorized to Samuel McDowell, Esquire, for the use of Captain Michael Bowyer for two hundred and fifty pounds upon account for the pay and subsistence of his Company

of Regulars stationed in Augusta County. Ordered that a warrant issue to Samuel McDowell, Esquire, for the use of Patrick Campbell for four shillings and six pence for five Dietts furnished Ensign McDowell of Captain Bowyer's Company<sup>102</sup>

McDowell was authorized twenty-three pounds for a wagon for the use of James Black for the service of Captains David Stenson and John Hayes Companies; eighteen pounds for the use of Captain Michael Wallace expenses of the guard over prisoners at Charlottesville to the eighth of last month<sup>103</sup>

## **House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia**

In 1776 Samuel served in the last session of the Virginia House of Burgesses in Williamsburg.<sup>104</sup> On May 6, 1776, the House of Burgesses was now allowed to meet a silent end as Virginia was now an independent republic. Delegates, who were also members of the House of Burgesses, gathered before the Fifth Virginia Convention session, began to declare the House of Burgesses dead by action of "the king, lords and commons of Great Britain."<sup>105</sup> Later the same morning the members of the fifth and final Virginia Convention met in the chamber of the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg and elected Pendleton its president. It was at this session that McDowell declared the rights of man and instructed the Continental Congress on behalf of Augusta County to declare the colonies' independence. In response to this and similar sentiment from representatives from other counties, the Burgesses resolved to instruct the Virginia delegates of the Continental Congress to "declare the United Colonies free and independent states absolved from all allegiance to or dependence on the crown or parliament of Great Britain." The former colony had become the independent Commonwealth of Virginia. The convention then created the Constitution of Virginia with a new General Assembly composed of an elected Senate and an elected House of Delegates. The House of Delegates acceded to the role of the former House of Burgesses. The state constitution, complete with a Bill of Rights, provided that the House of Delegates would hold most of the governmental power. The constitution was written by George Mason and approved on June 29, 1776. Patrick Henry was elected as the Commonwealth of Virginia's first governor.<sup>106</sup> McDowell was a member of this new House of Delegates.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee offered a resolution before the Continental Congress declaring the colonies independent. Great Britain was the most powerful country in the world and foreign help was desperately needed if the rebellion was to succeed. Lee argued that independence was

the only way to ensure a foreign alliance because no European monarchs would deal with America if they remained Britain's colonies. American leaders had rejected the divine right of kings in the New World, but recognized the necessity of proving their credibility in the Old World. Congress formally adopted the resolution of independence on July 2, 1776. Congress next turned its attention to a formal explanation of the declaration and on July 4<sup>th</sup> the United States Declaration of Independence was approved and published soon thereafter. Following the July 4, 1776 Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress, the constituents of Augusta County on July 22, 1776, requested that their representatives McDowell and Lewis write a letter to the Virginia members of the Continental Congress commending them for their stand that they had taken and to sustain them on their position.<sup>107</sup>

McDowell served in the May to June 1777 session of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia and took an active part in its governance. At this time, he served on the committee of public claims.<sup>108</sup> Other committees that he served on were tasked with the following matters:  
determining the relative rank of Minute officers already serving in state service to that of marine officers who were transferred to land service  
overseeing the public salt works<sup>109</sup>  
preparing a militia bill<sup>110</sup>

Later on June 13, 1777, McDowell presented a bill to oblige all the male white inhabitants of the state to give assurances of allegiance to the same and for other purposes. On this date Samuel was given leave from the Assembly to serve in the Augusta County Militia for General Hand's Scioto River Campaign.<sup>111</sup>

### **General Hand's 1777 Scioto River Expedition**

In the summer of 1777 the Virginia House of Delegates ordered the Augusta and Botetourt County lieutenants to raise one hundred men each for General Edward Hand's Scioto River campaign in Ohio.<sup>112</sup> The Shawnee Indians had been raiding frontier settlements killing men, women, and children and burning their cabins and crops and stealing their livestock. General Hand of the Continental Army was Commander of the Western Frontier. Hand's plan was to march from Fort Randolph to the Shawnee Indian town of Chillicothe on the Scioto River where he hoped to engage the Shawnees under Chief Cornstalk in battle and destroy their villages. On September 22, 1777, Captain Thomas Smith's Company of the Augusta County Militia rendezvoused at Staunton. In November McDowell, who had been promoted to major, joined with the Augusta County Militia under

the command of Colonel Dickenson and other troops of Botetourt County under the command of Colonel George Skillern.

The troops marched from Kerr's Creek to Little Levels in Greenbrier County, Virginia. From there they moved down the Kanawha River to Point Pleasant on the Ohio River where General Hand was gathering forces for the expedition at Fort Randolph. The combined command totaled approximately 240 men. Due to rain and high water much of the Virginians' salt and flour was ruined during the march. When the Virginians joined General Hand they found that Hand's army was also short on provisions. Hand assessed the situation and determined that he would have to put the men on short rations. Hand stated that "they feasted too high" and threatened to cut rations to the troops of the garrison. Major McDowell, who was a member of the Virginia legislature and spoke with authority as he had helped draft militia recruitment law, argued that the state was required by law to provide a minimum of food and clothing. As a result, General Hand cut the rations for the militia serving in the Continental garrison only and excluded the rest of the Virginia Militia. The men of the garrison felt that this was not fair. They ignored the inevitable charge of mutiny and its consequences, packed up their gear, and shouldered their arms and started to march for home. McDowell recognized the emergency of the situation. He knew that the militia provided an essential service and that the commonwealth could not afford to lose them. McDowell asked General Hand's permission to follow the troops and speak to the men. General Hand agreed with this advice and gave Major McDowell his permission. McDowell then negotiated a truce between General Hand and the troops of the garrison who trusted his word. Hand was impressed by McDowell's adept handling of the crisis. When news of British General John Burgoyne's October 17, 1777, surrender at Saratoga was received shortly thereafter, Hand chose McDowell to ride among the troops to proclaim the great victory. The campaign against the Indians on the Scioto River and at Chillicothe was eventually canceled due to the lateness of the season and lack of provisions. The troops were then disbanded in December after two months and two weeks service.<sup>113</sup>

### **1778 Delaware Indian Treaty**

The fall session of the Virginia House of Delegates opened on October 22, 1777, while Samuel McDowell participated in the Fort Randolph Campaign. During his absence Rockbridge County was established from parts of Augusta and Botetourt counties by an act of the Assembly passed

in late October. Samuel had been given a military service absence by the clerk, which excused him from attending the session until he arrived in Richmond. He took his seat on Wednesday December 24, 1777. That day he was assigned to serve on a committee of public claims.<sup>114</sup>

On March 24, 1778, Samuel McDowell's frequent and meritorious service in which he acquitted himself with excellence resulted in his being commissioned Colonel of the Rockbridge County Militia.<sup>115</sup> At about this same time the Continental Congress had learned of British governor Henry Hamilton's efforts to pit Indian tribes in the Detroit area against the lightly-guarded American western frontier, and feared an attack. In late March Congress appointed Sampson Mathews, George Clymer, and Major (Colonel) Samuel McDowell to serve as representatives for Congress for the purpose of reporting on the security of the western frontier. Their specific instructions were to give the number and disposition of troops to be raised at the border counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia; to develop a list of militia units each county was supposed to contain; to recommend to Augusta, Greenbrier, Montgomery, and Washington Counties that they keep out rangers to patrol the mountain passes; and to form a treaty with the Delaware Indians who Congress hoped to bring to the American side. The committee duly assessed conditions while at Fort Pitt and reported back to Congress that there was a serious threat from the Shawnee, Mingo, Wyandot, and other Indian tribes. Congress reacted by sending three thousand militiamen under the command of George Rogers Clark to protect the settlers.<sup>116</sup> The Commonwealth of Virginia also agreed to help. On June 10, 1778, Colonel McDowell informed the Privy Council of the State of Virginia that Augusta County was exposed to the ravages of the Indians and had a want of arms. The Privy Council responded by ordering Colonel Turner to deliver one hundred rifles from the public stores to Colonel McDowell for the inhabitants of the county.<sup>117</sup>

The commissioners also set the groundwork for the Treaty of Fort Pitt between the United States and the Delaware Indian nation. The treaty, which was signed on September 17, 1778, was the first written treaty between the new United States of America and any Indian nation. Although many informal treaties were held with Native Americans during the American Revolution War, this was the only one that resulted in a formal document. The treaty was essentially a formal treaty of alliance that gave the United States permission to travel through Delaware territory. The treaty also called for the Delaware to afford American troops whatever aid



they might require in their war against Great Britain including the use of Delaware warriors. The United States was planning to attack the British fort at Detroit and Delaware friendship was essential for success.

Samuel returned as a delegate to the Virginia Assembly November 4, 1778. At this session he was added to a committee that was to determine the future of Kentucky. In 1775 Richard Henderson and his Henderson (also known as Transylvania) Company had purchased twenty million acres of land in the present-day states of Kentucky and Tennessee for 10,000 pounds worth of trade goods from the Cherokee Indians. The state of Virginia disputed this sale as Virginia also laid claim to ownership of this vast territory. Virginia however, also recognized that the Henderson Company was due some compensation for their efforts. The Henderson Company had achieved a measure of peace with the Cherokee that was beneficial to Virginia and the company had also been successful settling families at Fort Boonesborough in Kentucky. Samuel's committee was tasked to determine what that compensation should be.<sup>118</sup> Other committees served on at this time tasked Samuel with the following duties:

- Preparation for invasions and insurrections in Virginia<sup>119</sup>

- Raising men to serve in the Continental line and to provide them a bounty and two hundred acres of land for doing so<sup>120</sup>

- Religion and morality<sup>121</sup> and

- To determine a mode for impressing wagons, carts and horses<sup>122</sup>

The Revolutionary War in the north had become a stalemate so the British determined to move their theater of operations to the southern colonies. It was thought there was sufficient Tory support in the south to cleave those colonies from the rest of the United States. On December 23, 1778, British general Sir Henry Clinton landed in Georgia and a few days later captured Savannah. In May 1779, a fleet of about thirty British ships sailed from New York to Portsmouth, Virginia. They burned Suffolk, and captured or destroyed massive amounts of property. The General Assembly of Virginia elected Thomas Jefferson on June 1, 1779, to succeed Patrick Henry as governor. Jefferson's term began the next day. A few weeks later the General Assembly passed "An act for the removal of the seat of government," which called for the transfer of the state capital from Williamsburg to Richmond. The war effort continued to deteriorate for the Americans. In October of 1779, the General Assembly authorized the governor and Privy Council to send up to 1,500 militia members to aid patriot forces fighting in South Carolina. Finally, on May 12, 1780, the city of Charleston, South Carolina, surrendered to British forces under Sir Henry Clinton.

In April 1780, acting County Lieutenant Samuel McDowell wrote to Governor Jefferson that he had ordered Captain James Gilmore and his company to join General Morgan in North Carolina.<sup>123</sup> The following month McDowell was busy as a delegate at the May 1780 General Assembly session. On May 24, 1780, Samuel McDowell served on a committee to recommend three men to fill vacancies on the Governors Privy Council.<sup>124</sup> He also served on other committees with the following tasks: Propositions and Grievances; to examine all the records and papers in the land office and to make a list of all the warrants that have been granted for military service;<sup>125</sup> to prepare a bill to vest certain escheated lands in the County of Kentucky in trustees for a public school; to present a bill for dissolving several vestries and electing overseers of the poor;<sup>126</sup> and to give encouragement for the apprehending of deserters.<sup>127</sup>

He also voted for the following measures:

A bill to empower the sheriff for the county in which a general court may sit to summon a grand jury and for amending the several acts relating to the same

Fixing and paying the allowance of the General Assembly

For fixing the price of the Spanish silver dollar to paper currency<sup>128</sup>

To affirm the commissions of four colonels and four majors for the militia<sup>129</sup>

To provide Virginia's share of 180 million dollars requested by Congress<sup>130</sup>

Finally, on July 7, 1780, McDowell gave an oath of allegiance to the state of Virginia.<sup>131</sup>

That fall, British commander, General Clinton, followed up on his successes from earlier that year. In October 1780, British General Alexander Leslie landed 2,200 British troops at Portsmouth and Hampton, Virginia. Within a few days they were on the march to Williamsburg. At about this same time a Loyalist insurrection erupted in Pittsylvania County. Samuel served as a delegate in the General Assembly's October 1780 session at which the Assembly responded to the British threat by reinstituting a draft to aid in recruiting soldiers for the Continental army.<sup>132</sup> Virginia was almost completely overwhelmed by British forces in 1781. In January a British force commanded by British General Benedict Arnold landed at the Byrd family estate of Westover in Charles City County. A few days later Arnold and his army arrived in Richmond plundering much of the city, freeing enslaved African Americans and blowing up a powder magazine and arms foundry at nearby Westham. Thomas Jefferson responded by writing to the Speaker of the House of Delegates that current laws "seem scarcely coercive enough for a state of war." Jefferson pleaded that the House of Delegates expand the Governor's powers so that he could effectively resist the British incursion.

On February 21, 1781, George Washington dispatched troops under

the Marquis de Lafayette to help fight the British in Virginia. These troops arrived in Virginia on March 16, 1781, but were insufficient to adequately counter the British who were reinforced by General William Phillips command that had arrived in Portsmouth.

### **Guilford Courthouse Campaign 1781**

In 1779 and 1780 the British had great success in conquering much of Georgia and South Carolina and thought that North Carolina might be within their grasp. Strong Loyalist factions turned out to their support and swelled the ranks of the British army. Following his victory at the August 16, 1780, battle of Camden in South Carolina, British Lieutenant General Lord Charles Cornwallis was determined to destroy American General Nathanael Greene's army and put an end once and for all to American resistance. Cornwallis's problem was to catch up with and force General Greene to give battle but Greene was not ready to fight and was able to maintain his distance. Cornwallis found that he was overburdened with baggage and therefore unable to overtake Greene's army. He therefore burned his supplies so that his army would be nimble enough to pursue and force Greene to give battle. He chased Greene in what became to be known as the "Race to the Dan," but Greene escaped across the flooded Dan River to safety in Virginia. Cornwallis then established camp at Hillsborough where he foraged for supplies and recruited North Carolina Tories.

At the opening of 1781 Colonel John Bowyer was Rockbridge County Lieutenant and Colonel Samuel McDowell was the Rockbridge County Colonel. Colonel Bowyer had marched 220 militiamen to Richmond and left Colonel McDowell as interim county lieutenant. On February 15 Governor Thomas Jefferson called for the militia of Rockbridge, Augusta, Washington, Botetourt, Montgomery, Henry, and Pittsylvania counties to muster and march to join General Greene in North Carolina

On February 26, 1781, a battalion of Virginia Militia commanded by Colonel Samuel McDowell marched out of Lexington, Virginia, to join General Greene's army in North Carolina.<sup>133</sup> The battalion consisted of two companies from Augusta County commanded by Captain Moffett and Captain John Tate and two or more companies from Rockbridge County commanded by Alexander Tedford and John Paxton.<sup>134</sup> Colonel McDowell's battalion joined General Greene's army at Guilford Courthouse on March 10, 1781, and was assigned to General Edward Steven's Brigade.<sup>135</sup> Greene's army totaling between 4,000 and 5,000 men consisted of a body of North Carolina militia, 3,000 Virginia militia, a Virginia State regiment,

a corps of Virginian eighteen-month men and recruits from the Delaware and Maryland Continental Line.

On March 14, 1781, while encamped with his 1,900 man army in the forks of the Deep River, Cornwallis was informed that Greene was encamped at the Guilford Courthouse. Although outnumbered more than two to one, Cornwallis decided to give battle. Cornwallis immediately set off with his main force arriving at Guilford at midday. The next day, on March 15, Cornwallis found the Americans in position on rising ground about one-and-a-half miles from the courthouse. He was unable to gain much information from his prisoners or the local residents as to the American disposition.

Greene had prepared his defense in depth in three lines. North Carolina militia formed the first line, with backwoods riflemen on the left and right flanks to snipe at the British as they advanced. In the second line he placed the Virginia militia, which included the men from Augusta and Rockbridge Counties who were posted on the American left flank. Two more six-pound cannons were positioned at the center of that line. Greene's third and strongest line consisted of his 1,400 regulars that included elements of the Virginia State troops and the Delaware, and Maryland Continental Line infantry. The regulars were positioned four hundred yards further on from the second line. While superficially resembling the deployment successfully used by Daniel Morgan at Cowpens, the lines were hundreds of yards apart and could not support one another. Since the east side of the road was mostly open, Cornwallis opted to attack up the west side. He opened the battle with a short barrage of artillery fire on the two American cannons posted on the first line. Cornwallis then ordered his men to move forward. When they were about 150 yards short of the fence, some of the nervous men of the North Carolina Militia fired. Some others threw down their weapons and started to run. But the majority stayed and when the British line drew within fifty yards hundreds of rebel rifles and muskets fired a volley. Many of the enemy fell but the British ignored this fire and continued another dozen yards and then fired their own volley in return.<sup>136</sup>

On a command from British Lieutenant Colonel James Webster of the 33rd Regiment of Foot, the British line charged forward. They came to a halt fifty paces from the American lines because the North Carolina militia had time to reload and as noted by Sergeant Lamb of the 23rd Regiment, "had their arms presented and resting on the picket fence...they were taking aim

with nice precision.”<sup>137</sup> Urged onward by Lieutenant Colonel Webster the British continued to advance. The North Carolina militia to the west of the road had been instructed by Greene to fire two to three volleys and then to withdraw and reform behind the American third line. Instead they fired their muskets then turned and fled back through the woods. Before they retreated, however, the North Carolina militia inflicted heavy casualties on the advancing British.

One officer of the 71st Regiment claimed that “one half of the Highlanders dropped on that spot.”<sup>138</sup> This volley was reported to be one of the single most effective volleys fired in the war. The stunned British were surprised that the North Carolina militia did not flee before their bayonets. The British then reformed their bloody line and advanced on the second line where the Augusta and Rockbridge County men under Captains Moffett, Tate, Tedford, and Paxton were posted. The fight at the second line was fiercer and even more deadly than that at the first. McDowell was unable to be present with his troops as he was delirious with malaria so these men were under the command of Major Alexander Stuart. The men had orders to use trees for cover. From this position they presented heavy resistance and repulsed the red coat attacks again and again causing heavy casualties. What made the stubborn resistance of the Rockbridge County men especially remarkable was that while many of the men were combat veterans none of its officers were former Continentals. Private Samuel Houston of Rockbridge County who was a youth of nineteen and who kept a diary wrote that he fired nineteen rounds<sup>139</sup> over the course of two hours defending this line.

Webster eventually pushed around the Virginian flank when Cornwallis ordered Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton’s dragoons to save his right flank. Tarleton’s mounted men attacked the Virginians with sabers. The Virginians armed with rifles were without bayonets and were hard pressed to defend themselves. They were forced to withdraw. Private Houston reported that many a Rockbridge County man carried a saber scar from wounds sustained during this action. Webster then advanced on to the American third line.

The British 71st Regiment Grenadiers and 2nd Guards moved up the center with the 33rd and 23rd regiments advancing to their left. The British guns and Tarleton’s light dragoons moved forward along the road keeping pace. To the right the 1st Guards and Hessians were unable to make much headway as they were harried by Lieutenant Colonel Henry



(Light Horse Harry) Lee's Legion. The 2nd Guards in the center found themselves coming out into open ground around the courthouse to the left of the Salisbury road. They spotted a large force of Continental infantry and immediately attacked them and captured two six-pounders. They then pursued the Continentals into the woods but were repulsed by Lieutenant Colonel William Washington's light dragoons and the 1st Maryland Regiment who forced the British to abandon the two guns they had just captured. Both forces then engaged in a vicious hand-to-hand melee. Lieutenant John Macleod, in command of two British three-pound cannon, had just arrived and was directed by Cornwallis to unlimber his guns and fire on the Dragoons and the British alike. While many British soldiers were killed from this friendly fire, the harried Americans broke off and retreated from the field. Cornwallis then ordered the 23rd and 71st regiments with part of the cavalry to pursue the Americans, which they did though not for any great distance.

The battle was "the largest and most hotly contested action" in the American Revolution's southern theater, and led to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The battle was hard fought by the Virginians. In Steven's militia brigade the Rockridge County men suffered nearly one half of the dead and nearly one third of the wounded.<sup>140</sup> The British Army lost a considerable number of men during the battle with a casualty rate estimated to be as high as twenty-seven percent. Such heavy British casualties resulted in a strategic victory for the Americans. When he heard of the news of the battle, Charles Fox, a leader of the opposition in Parliament stated; "Another such victory would destroy the British army."<sup>141</sup> When the Rockridge County men returned home Reverend William Graham proudly reported that not only did the boys perform "well," but they "distinguished themselves and displayed daring courage...in the midst of danger which has seldom been succeeded, even by experienced soldiers."<sup>142</sup> After the action, General Cornwallis inquired of the militia that fought so furiously in the orchard. General Greene himself acknowledged that the Virginia men gave a good account of themselves.<sup>143</sup> McDowell had trained his men well from the lessons he learned from experience fighting the Indians at Braddock's defeat and at the victory at Point Pleasant.

In the aftermath of the battle the remnants of the Augusta and Rockridge men drifted back into camp. On March 17, Colonel McDowell, who had recovered somewhat from his bout with malaria, rallied his surviving men. McDowell knew that General Greene was desperate for men, so he

encouraged his soldiers to volunteer to join the remnant of Greene's army for the next stage of the campaign even though their term of militia service had expired.<sup>144</sup>

The men however had had enough and despite McDowell's remonstrations they determined to return home. Colonel McDowell was left without a command so he joined General Greene's staff. Seeking to avoid another disaster like that at the American defeat at Camden, Greene retreated with his forces intact. With his small army, now less than two thousand strong, Cornwallis declined to follow Greene into the back country. Retiring to Hillsborough, Cornwallis raised the royal standard and offered protection to the inhabitants. For the moment Cornwallis appeared to be master of Georgia and the two Carolinas. In a few weeks however, he abandoned the heart of the state and marched to the coast at Wilmington, North Carolina, where he hoped to recruit and refit his command. Greene shadowed Cornwallis on his retreat to Wilmington but was too weak to bring on a battle.<sup>145</sup> Colonel McDowell returned to Rockbridge County on March 23, 1781. In a letter to Governor Thomas Jefferson, McDowell reported that at the battle of Guilford Courthouse he lost one captain (James Tedford) and four privates killed. Two captains (John Paxton and one other not named), one ensign and seven privates were wounded. In addition the Rockbridge County men also had one major (Alexander Stuart) and four privates taken prisoner. The wounded ensign is believed to have been Robert Dunlap a veteran of Lord Dunmore's War who is supposed to have been killed or fatally wounded at Guilford Courthouse when he refused an order to retreat from the second line.<sup>146</sup>

### **Tarleton's 1781 Raid on Charlottesville**

A serious disaffection among the men of Augusta County took place in May 1781. It grew out of an Act of the Assembly enacted in October of 1780 whereby the counties were to be laid off into districts for the purpose of procuring a quota from each to serve in the Continental line for eighteen months.<sup>147</sup> On April 20, 1781, McDowell wrote to Governor Thomas Jefferson stating that a draft was ordered for April 26 but that the men would be ruined by it. Three companies of them totaling 180 men were in service the fall of 1780 when General Leslie invaded the state. Two hundred men served with Colonel Bowyer to repel Arnold's invasion in October, Captain James Gilmore and forty men served under General Morgan for four months and fought at Cowpens, and two hundred men served with McDowell at the battle of Guilford Courthouse. These men were not able

to get a crop in then and so to go again in the spring would prevent them from raising a spring crop.<sup>148</sup>

Jefferson replied that the Rockbridge County men had indeed performed more tours of duty than the other counties and that they would not be called to fill General Greene's need for men. However, the Rockbridge County men would be subject to the abhorred eighteen-month call-up scheduled for May 1782. The eighteen-month callup resulted in riots in Augusta and Rockbridge Counties. Around the first week of May McDowell reported to Jefferson that

about a hundred of them Seeing Colo. Bowyer getting the list [in] front [of] the Captains: of the Strength of their Companies, and Supposing it was to lay off the Districts anew, got into the Court House Seated (on) the table, carried it off in a Roiatious [sic] manner, and Said no Districts Should be laid off there, for they would Serve as Militia for those months and make up the Eighteen months that way, but would not be Drafted for Eighteen Months and be regulars. Much was Said to Deswaid [sic] them from Such an Exceeding imprudent Act and one that must be attended with Such dredfull [sic] consequences to themselves, to the State, and to the Continent, but all to no Purpose. They tore the Papers and after Some time began to go off....<sup>149</sup>

Meanwhile, events had taken a drastic turn in the east. General Greene declined to attack Cornwallis in his fortifications before Wilmington and marched his men to fight in South Carolina. Cornwallis saw that the war would have to be settled in Virginia after his disastrous battle at Guilford Courthouse where he lost one third of his army despite his victory. Rather than chase Greene and his army back to South Carolina Cornwallis determined to join British generals William Phillips and Benedict Arnold who commanded 3,500 men in Petersburg. Cornwallis justified this move on the ground that until Virginia was reduced he could not firmly hold the more southerly states he had just overrun. Cornwallis arrived in Virginia shortly thereafter and on May 20 after receiving orders from General Clinton who needed men, sent Arnold and the least useful of his Tories back to New York City. The British then advanced on and occupied Richmond on May 24, 1781. The General Assembly, along with McDowell who was serving his last term as a delegate,<sup>150</sup> withdrew from the new capitol at Richmond ahead of the advancing British and reconvened in Charlottesville on May 28, 1781.

Around this time Cornwallis learned that American forces under General Lafayette and General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben were divided. Cornwallis also learned on June 1 from a captured dispatch that Governor Jefferson and the Virginia Legislature were in Charlottesville. Seeing an

opportunity to strike a decisive blow, on June 3, Cornwallis sent a column under Captain John Graves Simcoe to attack Steuben and destroy the supply depot at Point of Fork while another column under Tarleton was sent up the York River basin to bag Governor Jefferson and other members of the Virginia state government. Tarleton left Cornwallis' camp on the North Anna River with 180 cavalymen and 70 mounted infantry of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Tarleton marched his force covertly and planned to cover the last seventy miles to Charlottesville in twenty-four hours employing a fast maneuver intended to catch the politicians completely unaware. During the night of June 3, Virginia Militia Captain Jack Jouett was awakened by the sound of approaching horsemen and spotted the "White Coats," of the British cavalry unit led by Colonel Tarleton. Jouett suspected that the cavalry was marching to Charlottesville to capture the members of Virginia's government. Jouett also knew that the legislature was completely undefended. While Tarleton paused at 11 p.m. for a three-hour rest at Louisa Courthouse, Jouett mounted his horse and rode forty hard miles from Louisa County to Charlottesville. Tarleton resumed his march again at about 2 a.m. His raiders soon encountered a train of eleven supply wagons at Boswell's Tavern that were bound for General Greene's command in South Carolina. Tarleton took the time to burn the wagons and continued onward. Jouett had no such delays. When he arrived in Charlottesville on June 5 he immediately warned Thomas Jefferson and the General Assembly of the impending British raid on the town.<sup>151</sup>

Jefferson narrowly avoided capture. He took his time and finally left his home at Monticello to go to his Poplar Forest estate in Bedford County with his family just minutes before the British arrived. Patrick Henry, three other signers of the Declaration of Independence and other members of the state legislature were also able to evade capture and fled west to Staunton. Lieutenant Governor Dudley Digges and half a dozen other delegates were not so lucky and were captured.

The Virginia assembly convened in Staunton from June 7-24. The panicked Virginians thought that Tarleton's next move would be through Rockfish Gap of the Blue Ridge Mountains to attack the Valley of Virginia at Staunton. The legislators fled Staunton so precipitately that they made no provision for the defense of the valley.<sup>152</sup> The Rockbridge and Augusta County militias were called out to meet the threat. Tarleton's further advance into western Virginia was thwarted when Colonel McDowell, in command of eight hundred to one thousand soldiers, including old men

and young boys, determined to give Tarleton a hot reception, assembled at the western side of Rockfish Gap.<sup>153</sup> Lafayette had meanwhile marched to Charlottesville threatening Tarleton's flank. Tarleton's force was too small to force Rockfish Gap, which was bristling with American rifles, so he withdrew.<sup>154</sup> McDowell led a force in pursuit of Tarleton but was compelled to give up the chase after ten days due to lack of provisions. The western men were invited to join Lafayette and became a part of his army. While most declined, several companies did join the Marquis and marched for the Peninsula and took part in the final defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown that October.<sup>155</sup>

Members of the Virginia Legislature had no idea what happened to Thomas Jefferson or that he was at Popular Forest. Perhaps McDowell's opinion of Jefferson was fully formed at this time. In an 1803 letter to his son-in-law Andrew Reid regarding Jefferson's dealings with Napoleon, Samuel wrote: "Jefferson I know well. He is a whimsical, unsturdy man, cringing and of no firmness. I fear Bonepart [sic] has full knowledge of him and will treat our minister Monroe as he pleases and keep him dancing..." In Jefferson's absence William Fleming, as senior member present of the Privy Council, served as acting governor from June 4-12 when the General Assembly, meeting in Staunton, elected Thomas Nelson Jr. governor. Thoroughly humiliated by Tarleton's raid and in a foul mood, the Assembly censured Jefferson for failing to prevent the raid. A committee was established to investigate the actions of Jefferson and his failure to resist the British invasion of Virginia. Then, on June 12, 1781, the Assembly rewarded Colonel McDowell for his prompt and expedient action in blocking Tarleton's advance which effectively saved the legislature from capture. The Assembly qualified McDowell as a member of the Governor's Privy Council under new Governor Nelson who was elected the same day. McDowell was subsequently qualified before Sampson Mathews as a member of the Privy Council, presented a certificate stating so, and took his seat with that body.<sup>156</sup>

### **Governors Privy Council – The Sinews of War – Yorktown 1781**

The Virginia Constitution was adopted on June 29, 1776. The eleventh article of the Constitution provided for a Privy Council or Council of State consisting of eight members to be chosen by the legislature. The powers of the governor were limited in that he had no veto power over legislation and could only act in concurrence with the Privy Council. Neither the council nor the governor had any significant constitutional



authority except when they acted together. The specific powers granted to the governor and his Privy Council were limited to granting reprieves and pardons, to embody and direct the militia and commission or suspend its officers, to name *ad interim* administrative and judicial officials when the legislature was not in session, and to appoint justices of the peace, sheriffs, and coroners upon nomination by the court of the county in which they were to serve. Although these were the only definite duties assigned by the constitution to the governor acting in conjunction with the Privy Council, the legislature delegated many special powers to them during the war. These added responsibilities, which were often of an emergency nature occasioned by the Revolution, included a great extension of the powers to appoint state employees; to issue financial warrants; to direct recruiting, training, equipping, provisioning, and utilization of troops and seamen; to erect fortifications, barracks, and military hospitals; to apprehend traitors and take their forfeited property into custody; to suppress domestic insurrections, Indian uprisings, counterfeiting, and the engrossment of essential war commodities; to prevent the exportation of foods and other articles needed by the troops; to maintain fair prices; and to supervise the commonwealth's lead mines, land office, and navy.

In view of this impressive variety of important duties membership on the council was no sinecure. At the time of Samuel's appointment, in proportion to the frequency with which each of them appeared at the council meetings, the total salary which the eight members were to divide annually among themselves was £20,000.

As a member of the Governor's Privy Council, McDowell was responsible for participating in the executive prosecution of the war in Virginia. He spent a busy summer supporting Washington's Yorktown campaign. The logistics required to support this event were immense. On August 27, 1781, George Washington wrote Governor Nelson stating that plans had changed: the combined armies were heading south to join the formidable fleet and land forces under French Admiral De Grasse "to strike a blow at the enemy in Virginia." In order for this operation to succeed it was imperative that the state of Virginia supply the allies with salted provisions, beef cattle, flour, salt, liquor, forage, and teams of horses and wagons. Washington further stated, "Let me entreat your excellency that every exertion be made to feed and supply our army."<sup>157</sup> All of McDowell's vast experience was needed to assist Governor Nelson with the enormous administrative effort needed to help the combined Continental and French

army function. From the letters of Governor Nelson, we know that he and his Privy Council attended to the following:

June 28, 1781 - a requisition of militia was ordered to proceed to South Carolina

July 26, 1781 - enemy movements in Hampton Roads & the Chesapeake, naval assistance, & trade with Bermuda

July 27, 1781 - the movements of Lord Cornwallis and Tarleton in the Carolina and part of Virginia

July 31, 1781 - the mounting of heavy cannon and the ordering of militia into service

July 28, 1781 - funds advanced to the Quarter Master Department and wagons for the Commissary General

September 2, 1781 - Count de Grasse & the French fleet's arrival in Virginia

September 4, 1781 - supplies for the French troops at Jamestown

September 4, 1781 - the movements of General Washington with French troops to Virginia

September 5, 1781 - the liquidation of accounts between Virginia & the United States and the settling of the specific supplies furnished by Virginia<sup>158</sup>

Governor Nelson was also the commanding General of Virginia militia. On September 5, 1781, he took command of the three thousand men of the militia gathering for the siege of Yorktown. Nelson arrived at Williamsburg to take command of his militia on September 11, 1781, bringing relief to the hard-pressed forces of General Marquis de Lafayette who were containing Cornwallis on the peninsula.<sup>159</sup> The northern troops of General Washington arrived about the same time at the head of Elk on Chesapeake Bay. Lieutenant Governor David Jameson took over leadership of the Privy Council that remained in Richmond while Nelson was at Williamsburg. Much work was done to support the final stages of the siege. Jameson corresponded with Nelson regarding the administration of the war. Jameson wrote regarding the following subjects:

September 13, 1781 - supplies of flour & meal, Lafayette's request for small vessels to provide water to the French fleet, & correspondence from Governor Thomas Burke regarding General Clinton's attempt to relieve General Cornwallis & of Governor Thomas Lee of Maryland, regarding the arrival of the French fleet & provisions

September 15, 1781 - supplies, prisoners of war, & salt

September 16, 1781 - provisions for the French fleet & army<sup>160</sup>

At the same time the Privy Council offered exemptions from militia duty to anyone who contributed supplies and impressed mills for grinding grain. When water levels in the streams got too low to operate the impressed mills, the Privy Council authorized shutting down mills upstream so that the mills that were seized could function. "In short," the Privy Council reported to Nelson, "every thing we could think of, that would give a spring to this momentous concern we have endeavour'd to set in motion."<sup>161</sup>

Secondary sources state that McDowell was present at Yorktown for the surrender but a primary source to authenticate this fact has been elusive. About this time Privy Council members Jameson, Cabell, Fleming, and Lewis went to Yorktown to serve in the militia. It is also known that Ambler owned a mansion in Yorktown, so he had reason to join the others. Furthermore, Samuel Harding was sick and unable to attend Privy Council meetings. In addition Colonel John Bowyer, who commanded the contingent of the Rockbridge County militia that was serving on the Peninsula, had been captured in one of the skirmishes leading up to Cornwallis's entrapment at Yorktown. There was no reason for McDowell to stay in Richmond. The Rockbridge County militia was without a commanding officer and most of the Privy Council was at Yorktown so it is likely that Colonel McDowell went there too. Governor Nelson sent out letters, perhaps in consultation with his Privy Council serving at Yorktown regarding state business on the following dates:

September 18, 1781 - Wagons, horses and supplies were arranged for the army

September 18, 1781 – succor to officers of the Virginia Line who contracted debts in Charleston while prisoners

September 18, 1781 - forage & spirits needed for the army

September 19, 1781 - arms seized & delivered by Colonel Barbour to the people of the county

September 19, 1781 - a proposal for a magazine established at Shirley & the behavior of Colonel Barbour

September 25, 1781 - allowing the inhabitants of York a flag to bring out their effects & requesting a reason for Dr. Griffin's confinement

September 26, 1781 - assistance in supplying the combined army and fleet with provisions

October 3, 1781 - provisions for the French fleet from the commissioners for Princess Anne & Norfolk counties, the adjournment of the Assembly

October 5, 1781 - the capture of Governor Thomas Burke & his inability to send arms to North Carolina

October 8, 1781 - the opening of trenches & heavy fire with the enemy and fighting against Tarleton in Gloucester

October 16, 1781 - orders to the commanding officers of Princess Anne & Nansemond to level the works thrown up by the enemy in the counties of Norfolk & Princess Anne<sup>162</sup>

On October 19, 1781, after an extensive nine-month military campaign fought on land and sea General Charles Cornwallis surrendered his surrounded army to the combined American and French forces after their siege of Yorktown. As a member of the Governor's Privy Council McDowell played an important role in facilitating this victory that won our nation's independence. However, as Governor Nelson's letters show there was still much administrative work to do in the midst of the victory celebrations:

October 20, 1781 - refugees & slaves attempting to escape on board the *Bonnetta*, a sloop of war

October 20, 1781 - General Lawson's command of the militia ordered to conduct the British prisoners to their stations at Fredericksburg

October 20, 1781 - the reduction of York & Gloucester and the capture of the whole British Army under Lord Cornwallis

October 21, 1781 - orders to the militia to conduct the British prisoners allotted for Frederick to the borders of the state

November 3, 1781 - compensation for state officers not on Continental establishment & the militia at the siege of York

November 5, 1781 - request from the commanding officer of Gloucester County for three hundred militia to take charge of the British in Gloucester Town to march to Fredericksburg<sup>163</sup>

Governor Nelson resigned his office on November 22, 1781, due to sickness a month after Yorktown. His health was broken, a testament to the monumental task that he faced providing the sinews of war that enabled victory at Yorktown by the allied forces. Lieutenant Governor David Jameson served as acting governor from November 22, 1781 to December 1, 1781. During Jameson's tenure the Privy Council dealt with the following matters: dealing with British prisoners of war; forage for the army; providing funding for supporting American prisoners of war in Charleston, South Carolina; the surrender of Robert Smith, (one of the ringleaders of the late insurrection

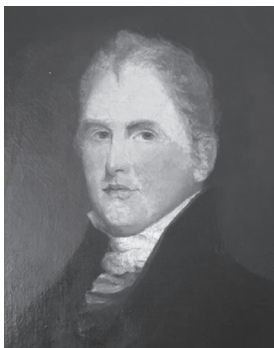
in Pittsylvania County); setting up a hospital in Richmond for the sick and wounded, nominations for the offices of governor, delegates to Congress, councilors, judge, and auditor; list of refugees from Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties confined for treason, and a return of recruits raised for the militia.

Jameson was replaced on November 30 by Benjamin Harrison V who was elected governor by the assembly. The primary problem that Governor Harrison, McDowell, and the rest of the Privy Council, confronted from that point on was money. The coffers of the Virginia treasury were drained by the war and the government was plagued by creditors both domestic and foreign. It was clear that there was no capacity for military action outside of the immediate area so Harrison steadfastly opposed any offensive action sought against Indians in the Kentucky and Illinois country. He alternatively pursued a policy of negotiating with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Creek Indian tribes that allowed for peace that lasted for the remainder of McDowell's term on the Privy Council.

Following Yorktown McDowell was rewarded for his long hard service to his state and country. In 1782 he was appointed to serve on a commission located in Kentucky along with Thomas Marshall and Caleb Wallace to settle the accounts of officers engaged in the several expeditions against the Indians.<sup>164</sup> At this time the 1782 list of Taxpayers for Rockbridge County shows that Samuel was a wealthy man. In addition to his vast landholdings, his household consisted of two tithables, four slaves, sixteen horses and thirty cattle.<sup>165</sup> In 1783, he was appointed as a judge of the First District Court of Kentucky and moved his family to Fayette County, Kentucky. McDowell attended the first District Court ever held in Kentucky on March 3, 1783. He served on the bench until shortly before his death. Samuel McDowell would henceforth be known as Judge Samuel McDowell. He had proven all through his life to be reliable and able to act intelligently and decisively. He was a leader of men who was well respected by his peers. Although far from ranking with the demigods among the founding fathers McDowell was nevertheless a significant figure of the Revolutionary Era and the founding of our nation. He was a man who helped to shape the events that brought the colonies into nationhood. McDowell was a "go to" man of action who got things done. With his pulling up roots from Virginia and moving to the frontier of Kentucky, he embarked upon the next phase of his life which resulted in "A Son of Virginia" becoming "A Father of Kentucky."

**End of Part One – Son of Virginia. To be continued in Part 2 – A Father of Kentucky**





*Three sons of Judge Samuel McDowell who gained prominence are, from left to right, Dr. Ephraim McDowell, Samuel McDowell, Jr., and Col. Joseph McDowell. (Courtesy of the McDowell House Museum, Danville, Ky.)*

## Endnotes

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<sup>2</sup>We Relate, [https://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Magdalena\\_Woods\\_%282%29](https://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Magdalena_Woods_%282%29).

<sup>3</sup>Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, *Answers 5150* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lippincott & Company, 1917) Vol. 51, 358, 359.

<sup>4</sup>Mary Beth Morton, et. al., *People and a Nation: A History of the United States to 1877*, vol. 1, (Boston, Mass, New York, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2008), 46.

<sup>5</sup>Nancy Sorrells, "Capt. John McDowell: among area's first settlers," (*News Leader*, Staunton, Va. May 14, 2014).

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<sup>8</sup>Turk McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned's Forge: A Story of Race, Sex, and Trade on the Colonial American Frontier*, (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 4.

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<sup>12</sup>Draper, Lobbell, *Action at Galudoghson*, 5.

<sup>13</sup>William Nelson Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy*, (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 426

<sup>14</sup>Oren Frederick Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia*, (Staunton, Va: The McClure Co. Inc.), 300.

<sup>15</sup>MacDowell, *McDowells in America*, 19.

<sup>16</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 32; Thomas Speed, *The Political Club of Danville, Kentucky 1786 - 1790*, (Louisville, Ky: John P. Morton & Company, 1894), 57.

<sup>17</sup>Anna Mary Moon, *Sketches of the Shelby, McDowell, Deaterick, Anderson Families*, (Anna Mary Moon, 1933), 47.; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County 1745-1800*, vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1912), 143.; John Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia*, (Staunton, Va.: Samuel M. Yost & Son, 1882).168.

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<sup>19</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 55.

<sup>20</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 57.

<sup>21</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 2.

<sup>22</sup>Carolyn Bost Crabtree, *McDowell -Shelby-Warren Families*, (Danville, Ky.: Crabtree, 2017), 4.

<sup>23</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 54.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 28.

- <sup>25</sup>Crabtree, *McDowell-Shelby-Warren Families*, 4.
- <sup>26</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 348.
- <sup>27</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 461.; Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish*, vol. 1, 145.
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- <sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 20, 21.
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- <sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 191.
- <sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 334.
- <sup>35</sup>*Ibid.* 230 – 237.
- <sup>36</sup>Howe Henry Howe, *Virginia Its History and Antiquities*, (Charleston, S.C.: Babcock and Company, 1846) 204.
- <sup>37</sup>Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare By Alexander*, (Cincinnati, Ohio: The Robert Clarke Co., 1895), 34.
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- <sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 72.
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- <sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 73.
- <sup>43</sup>Preston *Braddock's Defeat*, 277.
- <sup>44</sup>Benjamin Franklin Van Meter, *Genealogies and Sketches of Some Old Families Who Have Taken Prominent Part in Virginia and Kentucky, Especially the Later and Many Other States of this Union*, Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton and Co., 1901), 13.
- <sup>45</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 32.
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- <sup>50</sup>Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, vol. 1, 166; Bockstruck, *Virginia's Colonial Soldiers*, 334, 336, 340.
- <sup>51</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 57.
- <sup>52</sup>Reuben Gold Thwaites, Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, (Madison, Wisc.: Democrat Printing Co., 1905), 161; Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 57.
- <sup>53</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 33.
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- <sup>55</sup>Glenn F. William, *Dunmore's War The Last Conflict of America's Colonial Era*, (Yardley, PA.: Westholme Publishing, LLC., 2017), 278-281.
- <sup>56</sup>Thwaites, Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, 342.
- <sup>57</sup>William, *Dunmore's War*, 288.
- <sup>58</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 33.
- <sup>59</sup>William, *Dunmore's War*, 291.
- <sup>60</sup>Thwaites, Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, 343.
- <sup>62</sup>American Ancestry, vol. 8 1893 - Albany (N.Y.), 113.; Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 261
- <sup>63</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 59; Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, vol. 1, 455.
- <sup>64</sup>Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, vol. 1, 107, 171, 188, 190 & 196.
- <sup>65</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 564.; Thomas Triplett Russell, John Kenneth Gott, *Fauquier County in the Revolution*, (Westminster Md.: Heritage Books, 2007), 84.
- <sup>66</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia*, 58.; Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, 160, 165, 460.
- <sup>67</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 78.
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- <sup>69</sup>Sanders, *A Journey in Faith*, 100.
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- <sup>71</sup>June Lee Mefford Kinkead, *Our Kentucky Pioneer Ancestry, A History of the Kinkead and McDowell Families of Kentucky*. (Baltimore, Md: Gateway Press, Inc., 1992), 188-203.
- <sup>72</sup>H. W. Flounoy, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from May 16, 1795 to December 31, 1798 Embracing the Letters and Proceedings of the Committee and Correspondence and Inquiry of Virginia and the Other Colonies From February 7, 1776 to July 7, 1776, Also the Journal of the Committee of Safety of Virginia From February 7, 1776 to July 5, 1776 Preserved in the Capital, at Richmond* Vol. III (Richmond. Va.: James E. Goode, 1890), 185, 186.
- <sup>73</sup>Sanders, *A Journey in Faith*, 61.
- <sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, 61.
- <sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, 62.
- <sup>76</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 190; "A History Washington and Lee University". *Wlu.edu*. Retrieved 2011-02-28.
- <sup>77</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 189
- <sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 190
- <sup>79</sup>"A History Washington and Lee University". *Wlu.edu*. Retrieved 2011-02-28.; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 303.
- <sup>80</sup>Boyd Crumrine, *Virginia Court Records in Southwestern Pennsylvania: Records of the District of West Augusta and Ohio and Yohogania Counties, Virginia, 1775-1780* (Baltimore, Md.: Clearfield Company Inc. 1974), 525.
- <sup>81</sup>Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, vol. 1 183.
- <sup>82</sup>Jon Kukla, *Patrick Henry: Champion of Liberty*. (New York, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 2017), 59.
- <sup>83</sup>Thomas Kidd, *Patrick Henry: First Among Patriots*. (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 2011.), 51 - 53.
- <sup>84</sup>Kukla, *Patrick Henry: Champion of Liberty*, 71.
- <sup>85</sup>Kidd, *Patrick Henry: First Among Patriots*, 58.
- <sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, 53.
- <sup>87</sup>Kukla, *Patrick Henry: Champion of Liberty*, 79.
- <sup>88</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 95.
- <sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, 95.
- <sup>90</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 36.
- <sup>91</sup>John E. Shelby *The Revolution in Virginia 1775-1783*, (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia), 41.
- <sup>92</sup>Shelby *The Revolution in Virginia 1775-1783*, 53.
- <sup>93</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 264.
- <sup>94</sup>Alexander Brown, *Cabell's and their Kin: A Memorial Volume of History, Biography, and Genealogy*, (Boston, MA., and New York, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin & Company, 1895), 148.
- <sup>95</sup>Newton, *The Colonial Register*, 198.
- <sup>96</sup>Shelby, *The Revolution in Virginia 1775 - 1783*, 135.
- <sup>97</sup>Flounoy, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from May 16, 1795 to December 31, 1798*, 186.
- <sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, 198, 189.
- <sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, 229.
- <sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, 236.
- <sup>101</sup>Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, vol. 1, 506.
- <sup>102</sup>Henry Read McIlwaine, *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia* Vol. II (October 6, 1777-November 30, 1781, (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia State Library 1932) 199.
- <sup>103</sup>McIlwaine, *Journals*, 290.
- <sup>104</sup>McIlwaine, *Journals*, 213.
- <sup>105</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 61.
- <sup>106</sup>Shelby *The Revolution in Virginia*, 95
- <sup>107</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 36.
- <sup>108</sup>Peyton, *History of Augusta County*, 174; Van Meter, *Genealogies and Sketches*, 14.
- <sup>109</sup>Virginia General Assembly, *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia held at the Capital of the City of Williamsburg May 1777* (Richmond, Va.: House of Delegates, 1827), 8.
- <sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, 18, 19 & 20.
- <sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, 57.
- <sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, 77.
- <sup>113</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 253; Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 97.
- <sup>114</sup>Joseph Bell Court declaration August 30, 1832, Pension Application S6608 William Pryor's declaration October 1832 Pension Application S8979, online collection of the Virginia State Library <http://revwarapps.org/index.htm>.

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- <sup>116</sup>McIlwaine, *Journals*; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 254.
- <sup>117</sup>Thomas Pieper and James Gidney, *Fort Laurens 1778-1779: The Revolutionary War in Ohio*, (Fort Laurens, Kent State University Press, 1980), 13-15.
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- <sup>119</sup>Virginia General Assembly, *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia held at the Capital of the City of Williamsburg May 1777*, 42.
- <sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, 50.
- <sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, 52.
- <sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, 64.
- <sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, 108.
- <sup>114</sup>Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 5: February 1781 to May 1781, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 507
- <sup>115</sup>Virginia General Assembly, *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia held at the Capital of the City of Williamsburg May 1780*, 21.
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- <sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, 28.
- <sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, 30.
- <sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, 35.
- <sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, 77.
- <sup>123</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia*, 560.
- <sup>124</sup>Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia: With Reminiscences Illustrative of the Vicissitudes of Its Pioneer Settlers; Biographical Sketches of Citizens Locally Prominent, and of Those who Have Founded Families in the Southern and Western State; a Diary of the War, 1861-'5, and a Chapter on Reconstruction*, (Richmond, Va.: William Ellis Jones, 1886), 179.
- <sup>125</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 98, 282.
- <sup>126</sup>Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County*, 98.; Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua E. Howard, *Long Obstinate and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 2007), 67.
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- <sup>131</sup>Sanders, *A Journey in Faith*, 66.
- <sup>132</sup>Richard M. Ketchum, *Victory at Yorktown: The Campaign that Won America*, (New York, N.Y.: Henry Holt and Company, 130-131.
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- <sup>135</sup>Henry W. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical*. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lippincott and Co., 1856), 145.
- <sup>136</sup>Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*, 34.
- <sup>137</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, Julian P. Boyd, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 5, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), 508.
- <sup>138</sup>Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 293.
- <sup>139</sup>McIlwaine, *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia Vol. II (October 6, 1777 - November 30, 1781)*, 340.
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- <sup>146</sup>Wilson Howard McKnight, *The Lexington Presbytery Heritage: The Presbytery of Lexington and its churches in the Synod of Virginia, Presbyterian Church in the United States* (McClure, Ohio: McClure Press, 1971), 62.
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<sup>148</sup>Ketchum, *Victory at Yorktown The Campaign that Won America*, 160.

<sup>149</sup>Letters of Governor Thomas Nelson Jr.

[HTTP://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf.view?docid=lva/v101972.xm](http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf.view?docid=lva/v101972.xm)

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<sup>150</sup>Letters of Governor Thomas Nelson Jr.

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup>Shelby *The Revolution in Virginia*, 298.

<sup>153</sup>Letters of Governor Thomas Nelson Jr.

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<sup>155</sup>Thomas Marshall Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy: A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the Southwest. Containing Proofs of the Intrigues of James Wilkinson and John Brown; of the Complicity Therewith of Judges Sebastian, Wallace, and Innes; the Early Struggles of Kentucky for Autonomy; the Intrigues of Sebastian in 1795-7, and the Legislative Investigation of His Corruption*, (Cincinnati, Ohio.: Robert Clarke & Company, 1891), 56.

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# Remembering The Old Stone Fort Southwest of Churchville, Virginia (Also known as the Keller fort)

By Donald W. Houser Jr.  
With Lillian Keller Peters

*Editor's Note: In the years before the American Revolution, particularly during the French and Indian War (1754-1763) and Pontiac's War (1763-1766), life in frontier Augusta County was fraught with angst caused by conflict with the Native Americans. The colonial government ordered George Washington to erect a string of military forts along the frontier. Although those formal military forts were not within Augusta's present-day boundaries, the local leaders also urged families to fortify their houses. Leaders like the Rev. John Craig, minister at both Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring, led that charge, hinting that those who abandoned their homes for safety east of the Blue Ridge were unpatriotic cowards. We know that Craig "fortified" his home and probably Augusta Stone Church as well at great expense according to surviving documents. We know of others who heeded his words and did the same. John Madison, the Augusta County clerk of court who lived at Port Republic, wrote of fortifying his home.*

*Stories of fortifying homes have grown in the ensuing centuries until it is sometimes hard to untangle fact from fiction. Eventually every stone building and even a lot of log buildings became "forts" as the frontier mythology grew. The fact is that most stone houses and barns that were built in our area were constructed long after peace had been restored to the Valley and often just after the American Revolution. And many folks, seeing vertical slits in their buildings, mistake what are surely ventilation openings, especially in barns, for gun slits.*

*But before we reject all "forts" as nonsense, know that there is growing evidence for kernels of truth in these fortified dwellings existing in Rockbridge, Augusta, and Rockingham. These were not full-blown military forts, but rather homes chosen as a central gathering place for neighbors when the alarm sounded. In some instances a stockade might have been built around the building and there is even evidence that perhaps some had tunnels to a water source. Most had neither of those as these gathering places were not meant to be used for long periods of*

*time. Because Native American raiding parties often utilized flaming arrows in their attacks, stone buildings were preferable places for these safe houses because there was less wood to catch fire.*

*With these facts in mind, enjoy the information that local historian and journalist Don Houser has pulled together on one such “fort” near Churchville.*

## **Some Historical Background**

Per Joseph A. Waddell’s *Annals of Augusta County, From 1726 to 1871*, settlers began arriving in the Churchville, Buffalo Gap, and Staunton area of the Shenandoah Valley in the late 1600s and early to mid-1700s. The area was still part of “the wild frontier.” Other parts of the Valley were also being settled but our focus is on the area just described.

Little was known about the area at that time. The few early explorers, likely hunters and trappers, did not leave much written description. However, what was recorded spoke of a well-watered rich land with a large number of game animals. The unknown lands were often visited by passing bands of natives (known at the time as savages) who were thought to be a threat to settlers moving into the area.

Early documentation suggests that native groups at that time mainly used the valley for hunting and traveling. There may have been small groups of native villages scattered through the area but no solid information has been found of large permanent valley camps in that era although the area had been occupied by indigenous peoples for almost 10,000 years.

The first Virginia governor to see the Valley was Alexander Spotswood. History states that in 1716 he and the entourage he later called the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe launched an exploratory expedition from eastern Virginia, traveling up the Rappahannock River Valley and across the Blue Ridge Mountains at Swift Run Gap. Descending the western mountains, they reached what is now known as the South Fork of the Shenandoah River, near the present town of Elkton. They named the river the Euphrates, fired volleys, and drank some toasts, then returned to civilization.

Upon returning home, their positive reports created interest in the Valley. It was just a matter of time before settlers set their sights on what was the Shenandoah. Natives reportedly had several names for the area, but those names evolved eventually into Shenandoah.

Slowly, settlers began arriving and exploring this area. Most arrived from Pennsylvania, which had been an immigration destination for people arriving mainly from the British Isles and Europe.

Waddell notes that among other arriving settlers, several families named Cunningham came to the area from the northern part of Ireland in 1735. One member of that family may have been a Jonathan Cunningham. Jonathan settled on land southwest of Churchville near the junction of Middle River and Buffalo Branch, several miles southeast and downstream of present Buffalo Gap and near Trinity Point. His tract of land was at least 400 acres.

These early settlers first needed a shelter to protect themselves from the elements and from any hostiles in the area. It does seem that there was little hostile threat during the initial settlement. They would have likely looked for the most readily available building material. Forests provided logs, so log cabins could be built quickly. It was the first step in creating their first home in this new land. Cutting trees for logs also started opening up the land for cultivation. They were beginning their new life on their own land.

Cunningham had likely followed this practice and built a log cabin when he arrived in the area. After getting more settled, perhaps some years later, many settlers then took time to build more permanent, solid homes. Some settlers, especially from Ireland and central Europe, were proficient at stone masonry and woodwork. Finding limestone, plentiful trees, and other “building blocks” in great supply in the Valley, they created solid homes and barns. Cunningham may have built his stone house in 1737.

During this time, the Shenandoah Valley was on the far western frontier. East of the Blue Ridge Mountains were the more settled and civilized settlements in the Piedmont and Tidewater. Williamsburg was one of the centers of English dominance in America.

England and the legislature in Williamsburg had been encouraging European immigrants to settle the Shenandoah Valley. Land grants were offered to encourage settlement in the territory. While a generous gesture, it also helped provide a buffer between any hostile natives to the west, particularly in the Ohio River Valley, where the French fur trade stimulated unrest and competition among native peoples and western settlers.

East of the Blue Ridge, the English largely focused on large tracts of land for their plantations and grew tobacco and other crops. While the Valley was suitable for growing tobacco, the eastern ports were too removed from the Valley to make tobacco a profitable commodity.

Instead Valley settlers grew grain – corn, wheat, rye, and oats – that was milled into flour and meal and distilled into whiskey, as well as flax and hemp for textile and rope productions. These products could more easily be taken to markets, particularly Philadelphia. Large herds of cattle

were also driven down the Valley to Philadelphia. Although Valley settlers existed on the fringes of civilization they were always tied into the coastal commercial markets and a vigorous trade existed.

The Valley was perfectly suitable for farming, an attractive opportunity for early settlers who were seeking their own land. Some years later, about the early 1750s, the eastern English colonies of the American continent were disturbed when French settlers in Canada began moving south into the Ohio River Valley area. This vast area was desired by both countries for expansion. Conflicts between the two countries began and quickly escalated, resulting in a global war (1754-1763). Both sides had native Indian tribes fighting with them. France sent troops to defend and acquire the Ohio Valley region. England sent troops, assisted by the colonists, to combat the French. What became known in America as the French and Indian War was known in Europe as the Seven Years War. England and France were fighting on two fronts—the colonies and in Europe. This caused a significant drain on financial and human resources. The war officially ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris. England was the victor, taking claim to the Ohio Valley and other lands.

England had incurred high costs by sending troops and supplies to assist and defend its colonists during the recent war. Now England had to defend and develop its expanded territory. England felt that residents of the colonies should contribute to repaying the war debt incurred by England defending the colonies.

England began imposing taxes on the colonists, much to their concern. As more and more taxes were imposed without what they perceived to be adequate representation, colonists began thinking about independence. Rebellions began. A few years later, in 1776, the colonists wrote a document and sent it to England, a declaration stating their desire for independence. So, one may consider that the French and Indian war in some ways contributed to the drive for colonial independence.

Even though the war between England and France had officially ended, historical records show that some hostilities continued for some years. Indian bands, sometimes accompanied by renegade white men, came into Virginia from the Ohio valley area. They attacked western frontier settlements, raiding homes and settlements, burning buildings and killing or capturing inhabitants.

Much of this unrest can be attributed to the post-French and Indian War policies enacted by the British. In 1763, unrest spilled over into another

conflict called Pontiac's War. For about a year, a loose confederation of Native American tribes preyed upon settlements and British forts along the frontier. Hundreds of colonists were killed or captured in the conflict.

The end result was that, unlike the early settlement period, from the French and Indian War until the eve of the American Revolution, there were a number of fearful years and deadly attacks in Augusta County. Those events are well documented in other publications. During this time of danger, some pioneers gave up, fleeing their homes and property, going east across the mountains into "safe" English territory. Some likely returned north, to Pennsylvania and Maryland.

When hostile raids began, those strongly-constructed buildings built by the early settlers, including Jonathan Cunningham, offered shelter and protection to local residents. Many of the settlers fortified their homes, some with heavy logs, and some with stone. Either way, their homes were better fortified than the early log cabins.

During this period, other fortified buildings in the area potentially included Augusta Stone Church, a stone house in Dayton known as Harrison Fort, the home of the Augusta County clerk of court in Port Republic, and the home of the Augusta Stone minister, as well as others throughout the Valley. However, not every stone building was a fort and not every fort was of stone. Sometimes, strong log fortifications were considered adequate. It is important to note that these were "fortified" homes and not actual military forts. The palisade style fort used by the military was not used, or very little, in the Valley.

The Cunningham stone home/fort and property was later sold to Thomas Sayer/Sawyer and his wife Catharine. Little historical information is available about them. Deeds and a local gravesites show the name as Sayer but it became Sawyers. Those descendants today note their name was Sawyers so it changed sometime after the middle 1700s. In the eighteenth century, the stone building was known as the Sayer fort or just the "stone fort."

In 1764 an event occurred in the area around the Sayer home that has been called the Last Indian Raid in Augusta County. Historical reports state that local residents gathered at the stone fort due to a reported threat of approaching hostile Indians. How this warning was communicated to the community is not reported, but likely from riders coming from the west.

The raid was either in June or October. Some reports state it was in June and some say it was in October. Joseph Waddell says "strong evidence" suggests the raid was in October.



As events showed, not all settlers in the immediate area sought shelter at the Sayer fort. Perhaps some residents preferred remaining at their cabins, to save their property. Waddell's *Annals* notes that Alexander Crawford, his wife Mary McPheeters, and two sons, William and John, had been at the fort but returned to their cabin some three miles upstream on Buffalo Branch, alongside Little North Mountain. They likely traveled those three miles by horseback.

Some reports say they went home to gather vegetables to return to the fort. Waddell notes that the sons reportedly had gone up on the mountain behind their cabin. (Little North Mountain), to take care of some horses, perhaps taking salt to them. However, invading Indians found the Crawfords at their cabin and they were both killed.

Waddell reports the sons, while on the mountain, saw smoke and flames from their home cabin and later learned that their parents had been killed. Alexander was found inside the burned cabin and his wife was outside. They were buried at the Glebe cemetery at Swoope. The sons survived.

History says the Indians continued downstream, likely killing Thomas Gardiner Jr. on his farm on Dry Branch. One report says his mother was also killed. There is some dispute about this killing, because Augusta County Court records show that Gardiner's wife filed his will on 17 June 1764. That would mean Gardiner was not alive in October during the Crawford killing. Or it means that the raid occurred in June.

Bypassing the stone fort, a mile or more downstream along Middle River, the raiders found the cabin of John Trimble and several of his family. Several reports say he was working in the corn field or putting in wheat, so exact details are unknown. Local history said he was going out to plow. If in the fall, he may have been planting winter wheat. We do not know for certain. Did Trimble not know of the threat, or did he know and chose to stay and protect his family and cabin? That will likely never be known.

Waddell's *Annals* reports that Trimble was killed and scalped and his son "James, then about eight years old, his half-sister Mrs. Kitty Moffett Estill, and a negro boy were taken prisoner." The Trimble cabin was looted and burned. History does not say how Mr. Estill and Mrs. Trimble and possible other family members escaped. Perhaps they were not at the cabin. Perhaps they had taken shelter upstream at the Sayer fort.

The Indians retreated back to the west with their captives. Waddell states that a rescue party of local residents was formed as quickly as possible. They began tracking the Indians the next morning and the hostiles

were tracked west over the mountains. Some of the Indians were killed or wounded, and the hostages were freed and returned home. Interested readers can find a wealth of information about these times. One source is Joseph Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County, From 1726 to 1871*. It was first published in the late nineteenth century and reprinted in 1902.

After that raid, no historical reference of the Sayer fort has been found for the remainder of that century. In 1801 the Sayer fort including the surrounding property was sold to George and Frederick Keller. It became known as the Keller fort, in tribute to local memories of its historical reference, although threats of hostile attacks were long in the past. It was used as a Keller residence for many years.

In 1868 the property was sold again. From deed information provided by Staunton's Lillian Keller Peters, the property was sold on the 17th day of August 1868 by William H. Shuff (a Keller family member) and Mary M. his wife to John Schutterlee, all of Augusta County. Per Peters, Shuff was the last Keller relative to live in the stone fort.

### **Introduction to the fort**

Much information concerning the old stone fort and its families was recorded in a detailed document provided by Peters and from the late Mary Jane Sellers of Churchville. Sincere thanks are due to Peters and to the Sellers family for their valuable contribution to local history.

The original Keller report, provided by Lillian Peters, states:

There is much history attached to the 'Old Fort' where all of the children of Frederick and Magdalena Fall Keller were born and where she lived following the death of Frederick on April 1, 1839.

The deed to the Fort reads in part as follows: THIS INDENTURE, made this 28 day of September in the year of our Lord 1801 Between Tho. Sawyers & his wife Catharine of the County of Augusta of the one part, and George Keller and Frederick Keller of the second part, of the aforesaid County of the other part, Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sum of nine hundred pounds lawful money of the State of Virginia, to them in hand paid by the said George Keller and Frederick Keller the receipt whereas the said Tho. Sawyers & his wife Catharine doth hereby acknowledge hath given granted bargained sold and confirmed unto the said George Keller and Frederick Keller and their heirs forever a certain tract or parcel of land lying and being situate in the County of Augusta on the waters of the Middle River and Buffaloe Branch (being a tract of 400 and 45 acres conveyed to Tho, and David Sawyers on the 22nd day of September in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred by David McNaire and Hannah Sawyer also a part of a location made by the said Tho. and David Sawyer.....

The fort was built by Jonathan Cunningham, an early settler in Augusta County, prior to 1764, and was used by the inhabitants living in the vicinity of Buffalo Gap as a place of assembly in time of raids during the Indian wars and locally called a fort, it having walls several feet thick and

very narrow windows, water being obtained from holes dug inside the building. It stood on the south side of Middle river near the 'big spring,' now known as Cave spring, two miles south of the present village of Churchville and a short distance downstream from Trinity Point.

It was from this house, according to Waddell that Alexander Crawford and his wife (also early county settlers) made the fatal trip to their home in Buffalo Gap to look after their stock and obtain some vegetables for the people gathered there, and were killed by the Indians in October, 1764, in what was the last Indian raid made in Augusta County. This feat is marked by a roadside marker erected by the Virginia Department of Transportation as you approach Churchville (on Rt. 250 east of Churchville).

The Frederick mentioned in the above deed is the father of Frederick Jr., and George was his brother. The elder Frederick died the same year as his son, 1839. The last inhabitants of the Fort were Wary Keller Shuff and her husband William.

The Fort was dismantled in the early thirties and the stones from the building are now in the residence of Robert Gaunce whose home is directly across from Ingleside Red Carpet Inn on Route 11 North and the other part of the stones are in a residence south of the Bear Funeral Home in Churchville. When the building was dismantled Jenny Clem was most distraught but at the time the building was torn down no one had any money that could be used for preservation.

Virginia Keller Goodfellow and her brother, Richard E. Keller of Seattle Washington, have offered the following description of the 'Old Fort' as they recall conversations their father related to them.

The building had four stone walls nearly two feet thick including the gable ends. It had a heavy wooden door that could be barred closed from inside. It had windows that were so narrow that a person would have a hard time squeezing through but plenty wide enough to shoot out through. The building featured three levels consisting of a loft, a main floor and a basement.

When knowledge of local Indian raids spread in Augusta County, several families might flee to the 'Sayers Fort' (otherwise called the Old Stone Fort) for refuge. Women and children were huddled into the loft as men fought off any attack on the main floor. When the wooden roof was set afire by Indian fire arrows the women and children retreated from the loft to the basement until the attack was over."

In the basement there were two large wooden water tubs each several feet in diameter. Gutters and downspouts directed rain water into the tubs. This water was used for cooking and drinking as well as putting out roof fires when the fort was under Indian attack.

There was an escape tunnel leading from the basement out to the riverbank and a fresh water spring somewhere within this tunnel. The river end of the tunnel was thick cover planted with nettles to discourage the entry of bare skinned Indians." (From Lillian Keller Peters, September 1993)

## Historic photographs of the fort

Photographs of the old Keller fort were provided August 2015 by Lillian Keller Peters of Staunton. She recalls that her grandfather told her that, as a boy, he remembered spending time in this building, with his grandmother.



*South side of the Keller stone fort in 1911. Peters believes the two women may be Jenny Keller Clem, born September 19, 1863 and Elmira Keller Cauley, born Apr. 20, 1879. Their parents were Henry Swope and Margaret Sexton Keller.*



*The fort in later years, not in good condition. This is the north side of the building. The photo was taken in 1911. (Courtesy Lillian Keller Peters)*





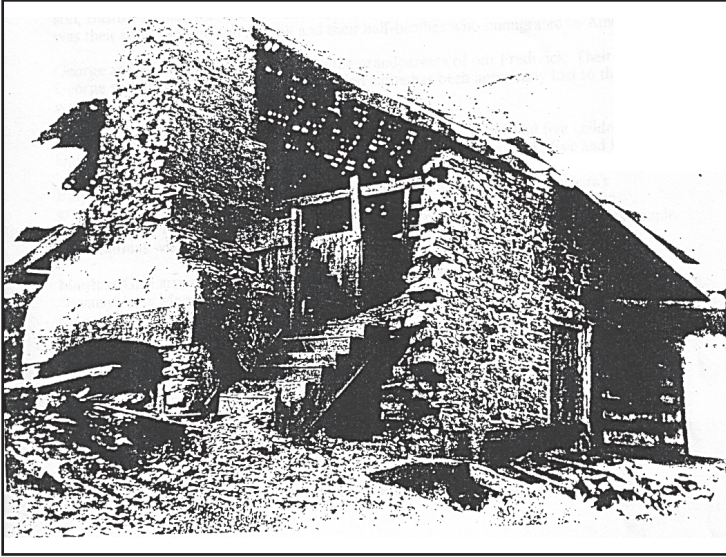
THE KELLER FORT before it was torn down in the 1930s.

(Photo from the Hamrick Collection)

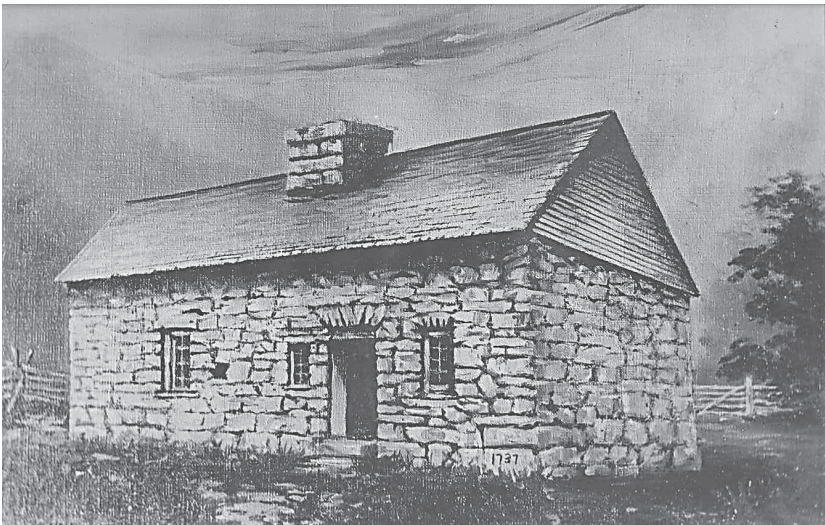


*This photograph might have been taken as the fort was being demolished. Only a portion of the building remains standing in this photo.*





*The old Keller stone fort was demolished in the 1930s. Historical writings state that stones from this fort were used in the Sidney Bear home on Green Hill Lane, now the home of Rick Snyder, and for the Virginia State Police Sgt. Gaunce home at Verona. This photo courtesy W. T. and Gladys Bear.*



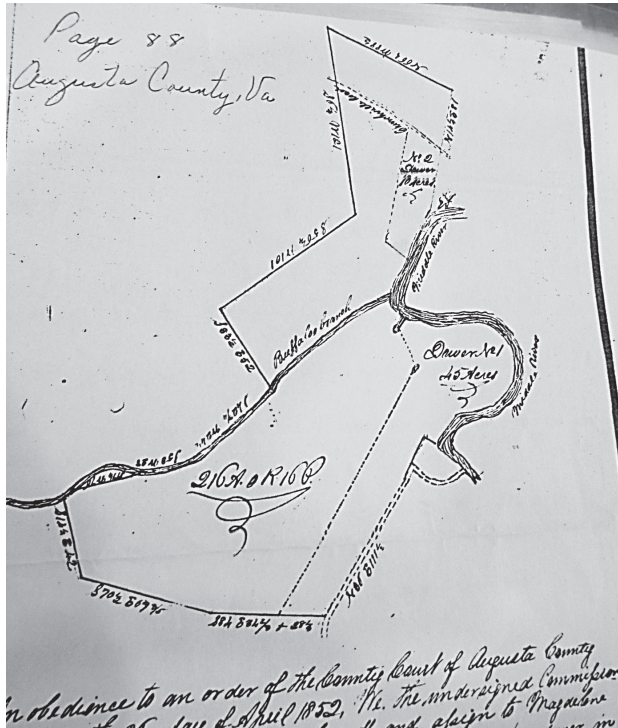
*This drawing from 1901 is reportedly of the stone fort, although several differences seem to appear between this and other fort photos. The date 1737 on the stone is likely the date the fort was built by Jonathan Cunningham. (Courtesy Jim Crawford)*

## Nearby log cabin



*Some believe that this could be the original cabin dating to the mid-1700s. If true, it was possibly standing when the fort was occupied and was home to a family. It is located along Middle River about a mile downstream from the location of the stone fort. This land is the location where history says John Trimble and his family lived when he was killed in the raid. The cabin is on the privately-posted Knopp property. The photos were taken by the author July 20, 2018.*





The plat showing Middle River and Buffalo Branch. The stone fort was located in the field just upstream from the junction of these streams.

#### The deed reads as follows:

In obedience to an order of the County Court of Augusta County made on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of April 1852, We the undersigned (unclear) named in said order to lay off and assign to Magdalena Keller, the widow of Frederick Keller, deceased, her (unclear) in the tract of land which her husband Frederick died, signed (unclear) situate in Augusta County on the West side of the Middle River proceeded on (unclear) day of May, 1852 to discharge the duty assigned to us.

The tract of land contains 216 (acres) R (unclear) and is bounded as follows: Viz. Beginning at a dead white oak then NW side of the River on a high bank corner (?) to George Keller, thence with his line N145 (unclear) crossing the Churchville Road to two white oaks on a hill corner to Christian Bare (sic) and George Keller then N66 W88 rods to 121 rods crossing the road again to three black oaks on a high hill (unclear) W101 poles to a black oak, white oak (unclear) poles to three walnuts and a house, on the west.....

## **Keller family history**

The Keller family was an important part of the fort history, so that is included in this narrative.

### **Children of Frederick and Barbara Baylor Keller**

1. Barbara Keller was born on December 27, 1789 and died February 11, 1866. She married George Fall, April 16, 1806. George died and in 1828 she married Valentine Cupp who was born September 1, 1766 and died April 30, 1853.

2. Frederick Keller was born on February 27, 1793, and married Magdalena Fall, born January 15, 1788, on February 23, 1818. Frederick died on April 1, 1839, the same year as his father, and Magdalena died on April 18, 1876.

3. Eve Keller was born on October 16, 1800 and married Peter Baldwin on September 12, 1826.

4. Samuel Keller was born on January 6, 1803 and died, unmarried, on January 2, 1845.

5. David Keller was born on September 18, 1811.

### **Children of Frederick and Magdalena Fall Keller**

1. Catherina Barbara Keller was born on January 20, 1819 and married Daniel Fall on October 3, 1844. Record of her birth is contained in the registry of St. Peter's Lutheran Church, as all the records of her brothers and sisters. At the time of her marriage her age was attested to her brother, Hartman, as being upwards of 21 years. Daniel died on August 29, 1870 and is buried in the cemetery at St. Peter's Lutheran Church in Churchville, Va. Catherina then moved to Illinois in 1880 to be near her children who were living in the Bloomington area. She is buried in the cemetery in Bloomington, Illinois, as are her children.

2. Harmon Daniel (Herman) Keller was born on November 2, 1820. On July 26, 1847, he married Susannah Engleman in Augusta County, Virginia. Harmon died in Mount Vernon, Iowa on March 18, 1889 and Susannah died on March, 18, 1896. They are both buried in Mt. Vernon Cemetery in Mt. Vernon, Iowa. Some of the descendants of this family live in Minnesota.

3. Eliza Ann (Eleise Anna) Keller was born on May 19, 1822. On December 21, 1846, she married James M. Peaco from Augusta County, Virginia. Some of her descendants live in Virginia and a great grandson lives in Massachusetts.

4. Washington James (Washington Jacobus) Keller was born on September 23, 1823, and married Amelia Jane Jordan, the first of his three



*Picture of Frederick and Magdalena Fall Keller.*



*Magdalena Fall Keller – Born Jan. 15, 1788, died April 18, 1878. Picture made several years before her death.*

wives and only one with whom there were children. These descendants live in Dillwyn (Buckingham County) and other surrounding areas in Virginia. Two books have been about Washington James' daughter, Mary Magdalena Keller Brown. One is entitled FAR FROM HOME and tells of four pioneer families who ventured west seeking fame and fortune. I do not recall the title of the second one, but this one deals entirely with correspondence between Mary Keller Brown and her father and both books were written by Lillian Schlissel, Byrd Gibbens and Elizabeth Hampsten published by Schocken books, a division of Random House.

5. John Fall (John Fahl) Keller was born on July 21, 1825. He married Martha Frances Jackson on November 26, 1850. John died on July 5, 1905, and Martha died on January 1, 1914. Both are buried in Thornrose Cemetery, Staunton, and their graves are marked with a stone provide by Shirley Keller Peco.

6. Frederick George Keller (Frederick George) was born on February



*Catherina Barbara Keller, daughter of Frederick and Magdalena Fall Keller and wife of Daniel Fall.*



22, 1827 and married Esther Ann McCormick on January 6, 1852. Frederick died on April 11, 1918, and Esther died on December 5, 1918, shortly after celebrating their 60<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary. These descendants are scattered through the United States.

7. Mary Magdalena (Maria Magdalena) Keller was born on December 17, 1828 and died on February 25, 1917. She married William Shuff, born on May 1, 1818, in Altoona, Pennsylvania. William died on December 13, 1896. The descendants are scattered throughout the United States.

8. Henry Swoope Keller was born on May 1, 1831. On July 22, 1856, he married Margaret E. Sexton, from Wytheville, Virginia. Henry died on January 4, 1903 and Margaret died on April 30, 1924. Both are buried in Thornrose Cemetery in Staunton. Their descendants live primarily in Washington State and elsewhere.

### **Two area cemeteries**

With a growing population, community cemeteries became necessary. There are two that are known of, both dating back to the middle 1700s. One is called the Geeding/Allen/Keller/Knopp cemetery. It is on a high bluff overlooking Middle River and the Knopp property. The other is known as the Glebe Cemetery and is west some miles, on Glebe School Road/Rt. 876 near Swoope.

#### **Geeding/Allen/ Keller Cemetery**

Augusta County Va. Archives Cemeteries....Geeding-Keller Cemetery  
Copyright. All rights reserved. <http://www.usgwarchives.net/copyright.htm>  
<http://www.usgwarchives.net/va/vafiles.htm>

(File contributed for use in USGenWeb Archives by: Glenda Lambert-Gibson.)

September 8, 2009: Geeding-Keller Cemetery Located on the farm of Dr. James Knopp, behind Greenville Cemetery, on Route 836 near Churchville. Overgrown with trees and some brush.

Sayers, George d 28 May 1753 Here lies the body of George Sayer, aged 21 years and departed this life May the 28th in the year of our Lord God 1753.

Keller, Anna E. d 19 Sep 1868 78 yr 8 mo 17 da

In Memory of Keller, John d 6 Apr 1860 65 yr 3 mo 11 da

In Memory of Armstrong, James d 6 Oct 1759 Here lies the body of James Armstrong departed this life in the 28th year of his life, October the 6th 1759.

Whisman, Mary d 11 Sep 185\_ 13 yr 7 mo 14 da d/o P & L.M. Whisman

(Secured by: Mrs. Forrest Peters, Jr. (Lillian Keller) Staunton, Va.

From *Annals of Augusta County* by Joseph A. Waddell, 1902. Pg. 205.)

1. William Crawford...In an old graveyard on a high hill overlooking Middle River, on the farm of the late Ephraim Geeding, is an ancient sand-stone, flat on the ground and broken in two. The inscription upon it, which is nearly illegible is as follows; ""William Crawford, departed this life October 15, 1792, aged 48 years."" He was twenty years old when his parents were massacred..." He was born June 1, 1744 at Churchville, Augusta County, Va. Died Oct. 15, 1792 at Churchville. The location of this cemetery appears to be the same as in the description provided in this excerpt.

Parents; Father: Alexander Crawford believed d. Jun 1764 Mother: Mary McPheeters Crawford believed d. Jun 1764. His parents were believed killed on same Indian Raid that also claimed the life of Thomas Gardiner whose will was proved 19 June 1764. Information supplied in the same source quoted above. Burial: Allen Cemetery Augusta County Virginia Glebe Cemetery

In deed book No. 2, p. 505, February 27, 1749, the purchase of the "Glebe Lands" is recorded. In colonial Virginia, before the Revolution brought separation of church and state, the glebe was the farm that the locality was required to provide for the Anglican minister who was a local government official. So the glebe cemetery was located on that farm. This was technically public land and therefore an appropriate place out in the county for burials.

Some victims of area Indian raids are buried there, including Alexander Crawford and his wife.

### **Neighbors During That Period**

It is unknown at this time how many cabins and families populated the area during this time. Some families are known; a bit of information follows for each.

Alexander Crawford first owned two hundred acres of land around his cabin, including a portion of Little North Mountain. He continued to acquire property until he owned 1,640 acres, extending far out into the valley in front of his cabin, and toward Buffalo Gap. That property has been reduced into many tracts today and owned by many different people.

The Thomas Gardiner land downstream was later owned by John A. Lightner. Then it belonged Jake and Eugenia (Jean) Lightner, in whose family it remains today.

The Cunningham/Sayer land was later owned by the Keller family,

then by the Schutterlee family. The current owner is not included here.

The land where John Trimble lived, a mile or so downstream from the stone fort, was later owned by Ephriam Geeding, followed by the Allen family and then by the Knopp family, the current property owners.

The last member of the Keller family to live or own the fort home place was Edward Lee Shuff, as noted by Peters. A portion of his obituary states:

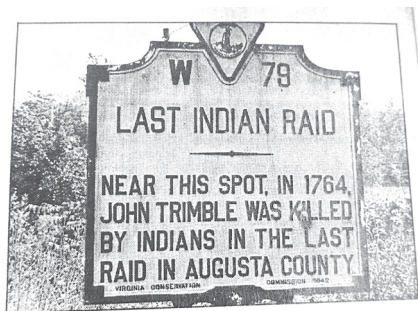
March 24, 1930

Edward Lee Shuff, who had been in failing health for six months, was stricken with a heart attack this morning about eleven o'clock while in the city manager's office. He died within a few moments. Mr. Shuff was a native of Staunton born Aug. 27, 1864, a son of William and Mary Keller Shuff. He was a life-long resident of this city, and had been superintendent of the municipal water department for fourteen years. He was a machinist and prior to that time was with the Stockdon Machine works for many years.

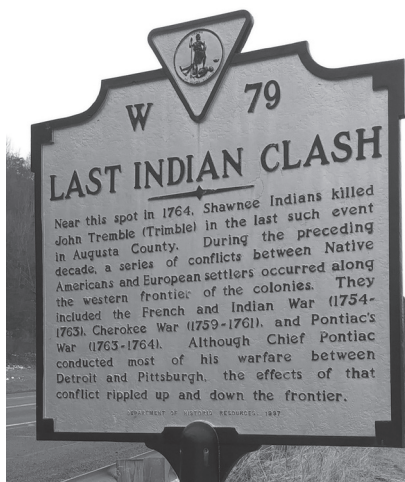
Mr. Shuff's grandfather, Frederick Keller, was one of the pioneers in Augusta County, and the Keller home place near Churchville was owned by Mr. Shuff. The funeral will be held Wednesday afternoon at three o'clock from Central Methodist church, of which he had been a member for many years; at one time having been on the board of stewards. Burial will be in Thornrose Cemetery. (Courtesy the Staunton News-Leader)

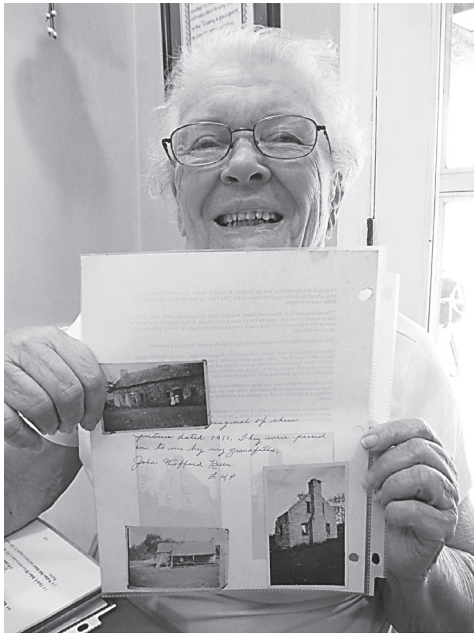
## Historical Highway Markers

Two Virginia Historic original markers have commemorated the events that took place at the building known as Fort Keller. The first marker, alongside U.S. 250 between Churchville and Staunton just east of the Middle River Bridge, talked of the "Last Indian Raid." That marker was replaced with one that changed the language to "Last Indian Clash."



*The old marker is seen above. The current marker, at right, gives a lot more historical detail about the 1764 event in addition to making the description more politically correct.*

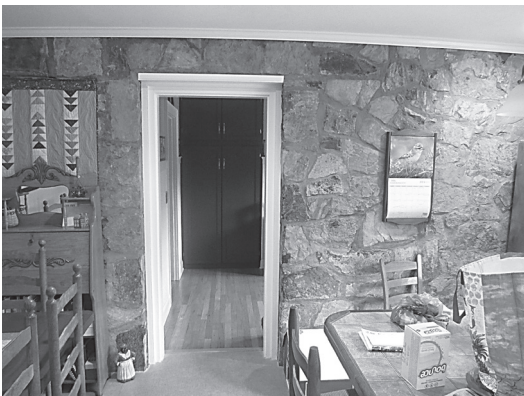




July 20, 2018 Lillian Keller Peters holds original photos of the old stone fort. She believes her grandfather, John Wolford Keller, took most of those photos. Lillian recalls that when she was a little girl, he told her that he had spent many nights in the fort with his grandmother and he recalled coming down from the loft on a winter morning, everything was frozen. John was born December 12, 1859, and died February 21, 1950. "My great-great grandmother Magdalena Faulk Keller lived in the fort for forty-four years," she said.

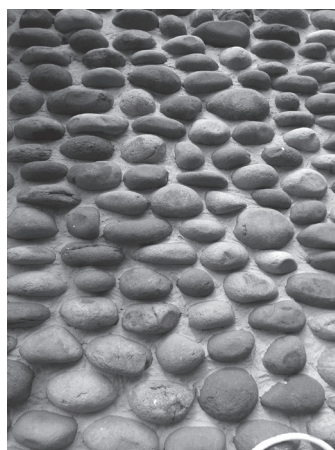


According to accounts, some stones from the old fort were used to construct this home on Green Hill Lane in Churchville, just south of the Whiskey Creek Bridge. Built by Sidney Bear, the home is now the residence of the Rick Snyder family. Snyder provided a newspaper column of Churchville news, dated Aug. 31, 1935 stating "Sidney Bear and family have moved into their beautiful new stone residence." The fort likely contained more stones than are built into this house. If true, location of any additional stones is not known at this time. Perhaps remaining stones were thrown into the fort's basement and covered with dirt. Or perhaps they were used elsewhere for building.



Stone from the fort was also used in the house interior. (Photos by the author)





*Per old writings, some stones from the fort were used to build the Virginia State Police Sgt. Robert Gaunce house in Verona, just north of the intersection of U.S. Rt. 11 and 262 bypass. This photo is said to be from the 1950s. However, in early 2019 Gaunce family members still living in the house said the house was built about 1928 by a man named Cason. If true, these round smooth stones were probably obtained elsewhere because the fort was demolished in the early to mid 1930s. We may never know the answer. Also, the fort photos appear to show flat limestone slabs, although these stones could have been cobble between interior and exterior walls of limestone*

## **The Last Page**

Researching the past almost always presents challenges. Many people with information about many topics are gone. Often, written and photographic material is just not available. Regarding the fort, we are fortunate to have both types of information.

There are always unanswered questions; we always wish for more. The information here seems to paint a fairly detailed picture of the life and times of that era.

Special thanks are in order to the late Mary Jane Sellers of Churchville, Lillian Keller Peters of Staunton, and others as noted herein, for their documentation and contributions of such valuable information. Peters provided much data for this document both written and photographic, including her personal and Keller family memories. She authorized publication of her Keller family information contained herein.

The stone fort was an important part of local history, largely unknown by area residents today. It is hoped this article will keep its memories alive.

Any errors in this document are mine. I apologize in advance.

**Don Houser, 2019**



## Book reviews

*Editor's Note: The following section consists of reviews of recent books on regional and Virginia history as well as several that pertain to American history. Unless otherwise noted, these reviews are by AHB Book Review Editor and Associate Editor Daniel A. Métraux, retired Professor of Asian Studies at Mary Baldwin University. Please send any reviews or questions about reviews to the AHB's Book Review Editor, Daniel Métraux at [dmetraux@marybaldwin.edu](mailto:dmetraux@marybaldwin.edu). The deadline for all reviews is November 1, 2019.*

**Robert Whitescarver, *Swoope Almanac: Stories of Love, Land, and Water in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley*. Staunton, Va.: Lot's Wife Publishing, 2019. ISBN: 9781934368459. Xix + 261 pp.**

When I first discussed his book with Robert ("Bobby") Whitescarver, he was genuinely surprised that this history journal would consider reviewing his book. I replied that while the book was about aspects of contemporary life in the Shenandoah Valley, future readers would treasure its historical relevance.

Bobby Whitescarver and his wife Jeanne Trimble Hoffman live on a large beef cattle farm with 120 "brood cows and their babies" in Swoope, an unincorporated community in Augusta County near Staunton. Jeanne is a ninth generation farmer. Her family has been farming this same land since 1746 when her ancestor John Trimble purchased the land from William Beverley. Bobby Whitescarver is a watershed restoration scientist, farmer, writer, and educator who not long ago retired from the USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service with thirty-one years of experience. The book is about their hard work as farmers producing healthy livestock and clean water.

Whitescarver's *Swoope Almanac* is divided into two sections, life on the farm and an in-depth presentation on efforts to attain clean water from what is a series of waterways that arise in Augusta County and make their way to Chesapeake Bay. The section on farming is a brilliant presentation of the joys, rewards, and hardships of running a beef cattle farm in the modern era. It involves very hard work, especially in March when most of the calves are born. A detailed highly scientific understanding of the process of birthing cows is necessary. Mother cows are highly protective of their children and problems occur if a calf dies. Whitescarver provides delightful chapters on the management of their farm throughout all the seasons of the year. Future generations of readers will greatly benefit from this depiction of farm life in the early years of this century. A city boy like myself deeply appreciates this clear presentation of the complex activities of Virginia farm life.

Whitescarver's essays on his life's work as a conservationist are also brilliantly presented. One of his passions is clean water. The Middle River, which crosses their land for about a half mile, is on Virginia's Impaired Waters List because of sediment and high concentrations of *E. coli*. When the state conducted research to find the source of the bacteria, it found that ninety-four percent of the *E. coli* in the Middle River comes from the residue of livestock.

The state standard for *E. coli* for freshwater streams is 235 colony forming

units per 100 milliliters of water, but Whitescarver found that when the Middle River entered his property, the count was over 1,000. However, a half-mile later, when the water left his land, the count had dropped fifty-five percent. The cause of this dramatic improvement of the water quality was the riparian buffers that were planted in 2004 and keeping the cattle out of the stream.

Whitescarver concludes that "Cattle do bad things in streams. They pollute the water, destroy aquatic ecosystems, and tear up the streambanks. Excluding livestock from streams is a high priority for all the states in the Chesapeake Bay watershed. Livestock exclusion and riparian forest buffers are two important best management practices in the Chesapeake Clean Water Blueprint (219)."

Whitescarver explains his conservation work as follows:

We fenced cows out of our part of the river in 2004. Most of the denuded banks are now fully vegetated with native plants, shrubs and trees. The leaves falling into the river replenish the aquatic ecosystem with the food it needs to restore itself. I call these leaves the corn silage of the aquatic ecosystem.

The *E. coli* count in the river is reduced on our farm partly because the aquatic ecosystems are processing the in-stream pollutants. Science tells us that a stream flowing through a forested buffer is two to eight times more capable of processing in-stream pollutants than a stream without trees along its banks. I look forward to the day when our entire river is lined with native trees and the cattle are fenced out. When these two practices are implemented, the water will be clear and cold, and once again Brook Trout will thrive (139).

Whitescarver, through his *Swoope Almanac*, provides the reader with a very clear critique of the challenges facing our regional ecosystem. There are problems ranging from pollution, over development of the land, and a profusion of invasive animals and plant life. We need not despair, however, because there are practical solutions to many of these problems. Riparian buffers along streams where cattle are kept out can save the Middle River. Keeping all cats indoors would remove a major threat to our declining bird population, and so on. This book is an optimistic guide to improving life in our beautiful Valley.

Whitescarver has performed a major public service with this superb book. It is a clearly and masterfully written work that is a joy to read. The explanations of the causes and cures for local ills, such as water pollution, are carefully and clearly spelled out. My only complaint is Whitescarver's tendency to repeat some of the same material throughout the text. For example, riparian practices are discussed at length on several occasions in different sections of the book. Nevertheless, the author is to be congratulated on a fine book, which should be widely read by anybody interested in farming and the saving of our local environment.

One may order the book directly from the author or by going to [www.SwoopeAlmanac.org](http://www.SwoopeAlmanac.org).

**Jon Kukla, *Patrick Henry: Champion of Liberty*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017. Xiv + 541 pages. ISBN: 978-1-4391-9081-4.**

Today what most Americans know about Patrick Henry (1736-1799) is his bold statement, "Give me liberty or give me death." Before reading this splendid biography by noted historian Jon Kukla, I would have placed myself in this category. In fact Patrick Henry was one of the leading political figures not only in Virginia, but in the whole country during the years leading up to the American Revolution.

The son of a prosperous Virginia planter, Henry started his career as a lawyer with a keen interest in politics. His success in winning several legal cases won him early notoriety and helped him to gain a seat in the Virginia legislature in 1765. He arrived in Williamsburg just as Virginia and other American colonies reacted against the notorious Stamp Act that the British Parliament tried to impose on them. Even though he was one of the youngest and newest members of the legislature, Henry became a pugnacious advocate for Virginia's right to determine its own laws and levy its own taxes. He almost immediately played a leading role in writing a series of resolutions asserting that colonial legislatures, not Parliament, had the exclusive right to tax the colonies. Kukla writes that "Well into the summer of 1765, Patrick Henry's defiant language inspired and emboldened patriots in other colonies as it echoed through the newspapers, taverns, and coffee houses of North America (77)."

During the decade between the Stamp Act crisis of 1765 and the first outbreak of fighting in 1775, Henry kept up his relentless and often inflammatory attacks on British efforts to tax and control the colonies. He was a gadfly whose rousing ability as an orator ignited the movement for independence. Henry was not an intellectual like John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, or James Madison, nor was he a leading military figure like George Washington. He was instead an agitator more like Samuel Adams of Massachusetts. His energetic words and his political skills as a legislative organizer became a major catalyst that galvanized hordes of Virginians and Americans elsewhere to free themselves from British rule.

Henry served in the Virginia legislature and later as a representative of Virginia in the Continental Congress until 1776 where he continued to play a key role in stirring up rebellion. He later served six one-year terms as governor of Virginia. After the Revolution, however, he announced his opposition to the creation of a strong central government and later led an unsuccessful fight to persuade Virginians to reject the new Constitution.

During his time in the legislature Henry became a strong advocate for individual liberties. He was outraged by attempts by authorities to force all Virginians to adhere to the established Church of England. To this day, Kukla notes, Baptist historians have celebrated Patrick's defense of Baptist preachers who were fined or imprisoned for their efforts to practice their faith. One such historian wrote in 1810, "the Baptists found in Patrick Henry an unwavering friend. May his name descend to posterity with unsullied honour (129)."

Kukla makes note of Henry's participation in the legislature's escape to Staunton in June 1781 due to the British capture of Richmond and Charlottesville. As they were crossing Afton Mountain on their way to Staunton, Henry and the other legislators came across a small cabin inhabited by a single woman. When Henry requested some water for his group the woman replied: "Ride on then, ye cowardly knaves. Here have my husband and sons just gone to Charlottesville to fight...and you running away with all your might, clear out—Ye shall have nothing here."

"But" said Henry, "We were obliged to fly. It would not do for the Legislature to be broken up by the enemy. Here is Speaker [Benjamin] Harrison; you don't think he would have fled had it not been necessary?" I have always thought a great deal of Mr. Harrison till now," said the cabin dweller as she moved to shut the door. "but he has no business to run from the enemy."

"Wait a moment, my good woman," Henry said. "You would hardly believe that Mr. [John] Tyler or Colonel [William] Christian would take to flight if there were not good cause for so doing." "No indeed," she replied, "that I wouldn't." "But Mr. Tyler and Colonel Christian are here," said Henry.

"Well, I never would have thought it," the woman responded. "I didn't suppose they would ever run away from the British, but since they have, they shall have nothing to eat in my house." Finally as a last resort, John Tyler stepped forward and asked, "What would you say my good woman, if I were to tell you that Patrick Henry fled with the rest of us?"

"Patrick Henry!" she exclaimed. "I would tell you there wasn't a word of truth in it. Patrick Henry would never do such a cowardly thing." "But" said Tyler, pointing out his companion to the astonished woman, "this IS Mr. Henry." "Well...if that's Patrick Henry it must be all right...Come in and ye shall have the best I have in the house. (254-255).

Kukla concludes his excellent biography by noting:

Henry explained the revolution to ordinary men and women throughout America in words they understood – and inspired them to fight for liberty and justice. In the halls of the legislature, in the governor's office, and in state and local courthouses throughout the Old Dominion, he also protected and advanced both the liberties and the interests of his neighbors and constituents. Patrick Henry "was our leader in the measures of the Revolution in Virginia," said Thomas Jefferson. "In that respect more is due to HIM than to any other person... He left us all far behind (394)."

Kukla's writing and research are excellent. A skilled historian, Kukla has done his homework and written a detailed, lively, probably definitive biography of a revolutionary figure. There are a few sections where the writing is overly dry and hard to follow, but overall this is a superb work of Virginia history.

**Patrick Spero, *Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. 349 pp. ISBN: 0812248619**

Patrick Spero's book, *Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania*, is a very detailed study of the politics of colonial life in eighteenth century America. Spero, the Librarian and Director of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, uses the colony and early state of Pennsylvania as a model to analyze the difficult birth and evolution colonial America. The result is a meticulously researched book that will long stand as one of the classic works detailing the settlement process that led to the creation of a uniquely American nation.

There have been many very different definitions and conceptions of the meaning of "frontier." Modern scholars often define "frontier" as being empty or nearly empty land that lies a step or two beyond settled or more civilized regions. Frederick Jackson Turner regarded the "frontier" as a moving line of settlement and possible conflict with Native Americans and that the concept of American democracy had been formed by the fluidity of this line.

Spero's writing here focuses on the eighteenth-century concept of "frontier" which he defines as the vulnerable and militarized boundary between a settled colony and possible enemies, notably Indians who sought to preserve their own land and neighboring colonies that would compete with the colony for additional land. Spero introduces us to Pennsylvania whose frontier, he argues, was created not only through conflicts with Native Americans, but also through competition among such neighboring British colonies as Maryland, Connecticut, and Virginia. These often violent encounters created a distinctive "frontier society" that saw the transformation of Pennsylvania from a peaceful open colony into one that had to cope with "frontier country."

The early government leaders of Pennsylvania, many of them peaceful Quakers, tried in the early 1700s to develop a "live and let live" policy with neighboring tribes of Native Americans. As long as the numbers of European settlers were few, both Europeans and regional Native Americans lived in close harmony, but as swarms of new settlers arrived each year and pushed westward, they inevitably came into conflict with Native Americans thereby creating zones of conflict where Europeans began to systematically kill the natives, which led to retaliatory killings.

Spero writes that the frontier, a zone of conflict that kept moving westward, contained growing numbers of "frontier people" who were civilians who had turned into unwilling combatants [who]... looked to their government for the military protection they believed they deserved. When the government failed them, they looked to themselves and their neighbors for security. The perception of being a people ignored lingered after peace in 1763 [after the French and Indian War] and animated their actions in the years before independence (3).



Spero keeps coming back to the point that the frontiers of colonial America created a very brutal world dominated by strong people who had no choice but to fight for their own survival. He leads the reader through a series of long-forgotten confrontations including an uncomfortable border war between Pennsylvania and Maryland for western land, conflicts with Native Americans during the French and Indian War and in later years, and disagreements with Virginia and Connecticut over its northern and western boundaries. More often than not, peaceful relations with Native Americans and the government of Pennsylvania were destroyed when one or more groups of frontiersmen would deliberately murder peaceable Native Americans supposedly living under the protection of the government. A clear example of such groups is the Paxton Boys gang, which killed a number of peaceful Indians in 1763. There was also anger with the British government, which tried in vain to establish peaceful relations with Native American tribes in the 1770s by forbidding the western expansion of the "frontier."

Spero's book is not an easy read. The text is chock full of an endless array of examples to demonstrate his arguments concerning the roughhewn frontiers of eighteenth-century America. The book is meticulously researched and Spero's theses are very well developed. The avid reader will come away with an appreciation for the difficult frontiers that confronted the early settlers of Augusta County and other regions in the mid to late 1700s.

**Patrick Spero, *Frontier Rebels: The Fight for Independence in the American West, 1765-1776*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2018. ISBN: 978-03936344709. 288 pp.**

The American Revolution was such a complex event that any historian attempting to write its history will soon get lost in a web of staggering contradictions and narrow threads, some leading to broader truths and others going nowhere. Many historians seek to avoid these entanglements by focusing on one aspect of the problem. One usual course is to look at the events taking place on or near the East coast where there was a steady rise of discontent over arbitrary British taxes and attempts to impose arbitrary rule that led to such incidents as the Boston Massacre and the Tea Party.

I studied the American Revolution as a series of linear events that occurred in the East stretching from Lexington and Concord through the exploits of George Washington to the siege of Yorktown. Patrick Spero, a gifted Philadelphia historian and Librarian of the American Philosophical Society, has produced a brilliant new work, *Frontier Rebels: The Fight for Independence in the American West, 1765-1776*, which demonstrates how events along the western frontier played a key role in instigating the Revolution. Spero concludes with a discussion of how West joined East at the start of the Revolution to unite the colonies against the mother land.

One must first define what constituted the frontier in the 1760s. If you live anywhere near Staunton, you would have been on the frontier. If you follow Route 11 or even Route 81 north through Pennsylvania, you would have been in a frontier region 250 years ago. The frontier is best defined as the limit of

European expansion where settlers pushing ever westward met opposition from Native Americans who refused to give up their own land.

The British victory in the French and Indian War/Seven Years War gave them control of the vast Ohio and Illinois territories. Native Americans in these territories, fearing extensive British penetration of their land, formed a loose coalition of warriors who launched a bitter war (Pontiac's Rebellion) against the British from 1763-1766. It was a costly, inconclusive conflict that convinced both sides that some form of accommodation was necessary. The British in London, already deeply in debt, decided to make peace with the Indian nations by offering trade opportunities that included guns and ammunition. The British also decided to bar Americans from settling country which the Native Americans considered rightfully theirs. They hoped to convince Chief Pontiac and his cohorts that they were safe in their own land and they feared that they would no longer be able to control American settlers if they moved too far inland.

Settlers in frontier areas were adamantly opposed to British efforts to trade with Native Americans and with British efforts to bar them from their land. Spero writes that these frontier settlers saw Native Americans as threats that needed to be removed. When British agents traveled to Indian land to parlay with the Natives and to bring them trade goods as peace offerings, they encountered trouble. Groups of frontier settlers with blackened faces and Indian garb calling themselves "The Black Boys" confronted the traders and British officials. Groups transporting goods for the Native Americans had their possessions searched and often confiscated.

The trouble began in 1765 when an ambitious Irishman, George Croghan, organized a huge trading mission to the Indians destined for Fort Pitt. The idea was to bring peace to the frontier while at the same time making Croghan a wealthy man. When the pack train set off, reports circulated that the wagons carried supplies that would enable Indians to launch new attacks on the settlers. On 6 March 1765, James Smith, who had been a prisoner of the French and Indians, led a small group of vigilantes who called themselves "the Black Boys" in attacking and burning much of the train. A while later when some British troops came to the frontier to arrest the Black Boys, mobs of Black Boy supporters numbering up to three hundred laid siege to frontier Fort Loudon and exchanged gunfire with the British—a full decade before Lexington and Concord. It was soon evident that the frontier folk had turned against the British and that the British were losing control of the region.

Spero's key thesis is that the hatred that frontier folk had for the Indians and their desire to move into and seize Indian land played a key role in bringing on the American Revolution. The refusal of the British to allow the frontiersmen to expand into Ohio and other western regions and the attempts of the British to make peace and to trade with the Indians led the Black Boys and their supporters to openly rebel against Britain. Later when fighting began in the East, the frontiersmen joined their eastern brethren in a common cause

for independence. It is clear that the Black Boys and their colleagues developed an organized political movement that resisted British control of their lives a full decade before the War of Independence began

Spero points out that the Black Boy revolt signaled the realization of class differences and resentment between the wealthier established elites along the east coast and the ambitious men of the mountains and valleys of the frontier region. These class differences have become deeply embedded in American culture and are still evident today.

Spero presents a generally forgotten realm of activity that contributed to the American Revolution. He is a careful historian who has done a great deal of primary research to support his thesis. Teachers of American history must absolutely consider unrest in the frontier regions as a key ingredient of the revolt against British rule. The War of Independence was far more than an East Coast phenomenon.

Spero is a talented writer who gives the general reader a clear view of the “big picture” as well as a great amount of detail to support his thesis. This superb work of history deserves a careful read by any person interested in American history.

**Francis D. Cogliano, *Emperor of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson's Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014. ISBN: 978-0-300-17993-4. 302 pp.**

Thomas Jefferson met his first challenge as an executive in 1781 when as governor of Virginia he had to face a determined invasion of the state by British forces led by renegade General Benedict Arnold. The newly-created government of Virginia had adopted a constitution that called for a weak executive with little power or ability to raise a force to fight off the determined British attackers. The result was disaster for Jefferson and Virginia. Jefferson's small forces had to surrender the new capital, Richmond, almost without a fight. Jefferson fled to Monticello where he escaped capture with only minutes to spare while the state legislature sought safety in Staunton.

The experience during Arnold's invasion taught Jefferson a crucial lesson. He was on the one hand an idealist who “articulated a clear, coherent ideological vision for the future of the United States” and dreamed of an America that would represent the ideals of liberty and opportunity for all. But if the American republic was to survive and grow, it needed to work from a position of strength. As the young governor of Virginia, when “faced with external threats, internal weakness, and a flawed constitution, Jefferson realized that decisive action was necessary to protect Virginia” including the availability of the means to properly defend the state. “Weakness,” Jefferson noted “provokes insult and injury (50).”

When Jefferson and John Adams were working as diplomats in France later in the 1780s, the fledgling United States faced embarrassment at the hands of various states in North Africa. The Barbary pirates captured many American merchant vessels and imprisoned American sailors. Trade in the Mediterranean was an important aspect of the American economy and a way

had to be found to protect its shipping and sailors. The Barbary States demanded annual payments as a price for protection. Adams argued that meeting these payments would be safer and in the long run cheaper than an all-out attack on these piratical states. Jefferson, on the other hand, was more sanguine. If negotiations failed, "Why not go to war with them?...We ought to begin a naval power, if we mean to carry on our own commerce... I am of the opinion [John] Paul Jones with half a dozen frigates would totally destroy their commerce... (51)." Crucially, Jefferson noted, the cost of war would likely be less than that of negotiating a peace agreement and paying tribute (68). When Jefferson became president he employed decisive action against the Barbary pirates.

Historian Francis Cogliano offers a well written and thoroughly researched study of Jefferson's career as a diplomat and successful executive first in France and later as Secretary of State and Vice President before becoming president. His disastrous term as governor taught him the need for strong executive who through decisive action can both protect and enhance the power of the American republic. Cogliano analyzes the evolution of Jefferson's attitudes toward the use of force and of state power. He argues that Jefferson, although idealistic in his vision for America, was often very pragmatic in the means he employed.

Cogliano, a professor of American history at the University of Edinburgh and author of two other well received books on Jefferson, suggests that as president, "Acquiring land and guaranteeing access to overseas markets would be the major foreign policy concerns" of the man from Monticello. Thus, when Napoleon offered the whole of Louisiana to Jefferson, the President seized the moment and took the French up on their offer.

This book, one of the few that focuses on Jeffersonian diplomacy, offers the reader a strong analysis of Jefferson's attitudes and accomplishments over his long and successful career. The author's approach is to provide a number of case studies of crises facing Jefferson throughout his career starting with his frustrations as a wartime governor of Virginia. Cogliano offers the reader a very opportune chance to encounter the diplomatic problems that the United States faced as a new world power at the start of the nineteenth century. This valuable work fully demonstrates Jefferson's evolving leadership skills from a weak and vacillating youthful governor of Virginia to a strong leader of the executive branch determined to enhance the power and prestige of his young nation.

Readers interested in Staunton history will find a detailed recounting of the actions of the state legislature when it met in Staunton in an effort to escape the British.

**Ron Chernow, *Grant*. New York: Penguin Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-59420-487-6. 1074 pp. \$40.**

Writing a good biography of a major historical figure is a work of art. A biographer must endeavor to bring one's subject to life with a clear discussion of his or her strong points and weaknesses. The reader should get to know the subject as well as one would know a close friend or neighbor. Ron Chernow has won major awards for his prior biographies of Alexander Hamilton and

George Washington. His biography of Hamilton, which inspired the current musical on Broadway, is especially thorough, consistently fair, and elegantly written. I doubt that his current biography of Grant will inspire another hit musical—Grant was a somber no-nonsense kind of guy—but the quality of writing and research is just as good as Hamilton.

*Grant*, at over one thousand pages, is a monster of a book that requires a major commitment for the reader. The fact that the print is relatively small makes the reading even more laborious, but for those who persevere, the rewards are great. We get to know Grant as well as those who are close to him, especially his wife Julia. I find it especially useful that whenever Chernow introduces us to major new figures such as Generals Sherman and Sheridan or President Johnson, he gives us several chunky biographical paragraphs so we know who Grant is dealing with and why.

Chernow's exhaustive research and assessments, not only of Grant but others around him, provide a careful and nuanced portrait of mid-nineteenth century politics in the United States. We encounter a Grant who graduated honorably from West Point, but who struggled in his early life as a bored army officer dealing with alcohol and later as a failed businessman who as late as 1860 was selling firewood to make a living. However, when the Civil War came and both sides desperately needed experienced army officers, Grant quickly demonstrated remarkable talents as a military leader in the West at a time when Union generals in the East were losing battle after battle. He rose superbly to the challenges of war and later executive leadership. Grant was initially ambivalent about slavery and people of color, but as the war dragged on he became a dedicated abolitionist who as president shouldered the cause of civil rights for Blacks and Indians and who was a major figure getting the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed. Upon passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, preventing the denial of voting rights based on race or color, Chernow writes: "For Grant this last amendment symbolized the logical culmination of everything he had fought for during the war."

Chernow feels that Grant had a mixed record as President. He approached the presidency as a military man and not as a seasoned politician. He was great at issuing orders, but not effective as a negotiator. He appointed people to key positions without much in-depth consideration and he gave his appointees much autonomy, which allowed room for much corruption. He was a careful custodian of Reconstruction, managed foreign affairs with skill, but was a naïve and honest man who had no idea of the chicanery implemented by many of his subordinates.

When Grant left the presidency, he and his wife embarked on a long world tour that took them to Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia with a final two-to-three month stop in Japan. This was a remarkable trip that made him, in effect, a goodwill ambassador for his country. He was greeted by world leaders including Queen Victoria, Bismarck, the Pope, and leaders of China and Japan. While in Japan he became an unofficial advisor to the new Meiji government—persuading both China and Japan to negotiate



a settlement over who owned the islands of Okinawa rather than fight a war and advising government leaders on how to write a modern constitution. His compliments saved Japan's august Noh theatre from oblivion. Chernow pays very little attention to this trip, which is too bad, but with one thousand-plus pages of text, he can be excused.

Chernow's *Grant* is a masterpiece —perhaps the definitive modern biography of a complex and fascinating individual. The Grant that Chernow presents is a very complex man. He was a bold and decisive military leader who handled personnel under his direct command very well, but when not in command could be very gullible, trusting, and unable to control people around him when not in a military situation. Grant was brilliant as a Civil War general, but although he had some successes as President, he was often in over his head.

**Ruth Bader Ginsburg, *My Own Words*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016. ISBN: 978-1501145247. 400 pp.**

Because we are first and foremost a local historical society, we strive to review those books that have a local or regional focus. Thus, we always try to review books on Thomas Jefferson or James Madison, but would not consider a work on James Marshall who first discovered gold in California in 1848. Therefore, it may seem odd to review a book by a Supreme Court justice born and bred in New York City. Justice Ginsberg is a fascinating character to say the least, but her book's relevance is her lengthy analysis of the 1993-1996 *United States vs. Virginia* case, which forced VMI to admit women. Ginsberg goes so far as to note the critical differences between Mary Baldwin College and its VWIL program and the leadership programs offered at VMI.

*My Own Words* is Justice Ginsburg's first published work since she became a Supreme Court Justice in 1993. It is a well-organized collection of her writings, speeches, and anecdotes of her growing up in Brooklyn, her legal career before 1993, and her friendships and relationships with other SCOTUS members—her closest friend was the late Justice Scalia. Ginsburg's main career passion is gender equality—a full dedication to foster equal rights for women and minorities. The book is divided into five parts and covers a wide range of topics, including gender equality, the workways of SCOTUS, growing up Jewish, law and lawyers in opera, and looking at what other countries have done to foster women's rights.

Part III focuses on her commitment to gender equality, including briefs she wrote as a lawyer and her statement from the bench when the court decided *United States v. Virginia*, which declared unconstitutional the exclusion of women from Virginia Military Institute. The Court sided with those who favored admitting women to VMI. Ginsburg wrote the brief that explained the Court's decision. She stated that she respected the tradition of single-sex institutions, but not when they are public state-run schools. VMI had argued that the Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership at Mary Baldwin was vastly different and did not offer women the high standards they could find at VMI.

She said that students at VMI were taught to deal with adversarial relationships while MBC VWIL students learned about cooperative relationships. This section on VMI and MBC is a very valuable resource for local history.

Before moving on, I wish to recount my own small involvement in this controversy. My late mother, Rhoda Metraux, lived her last years in an old school house in Greensboro, Vermont (We still own the house). One of our neighbors down the road was Chief Justice William Rhenquist, whom I met on numerous occasions. Knowing that I taught at MBC in the mid-1990s when the case was coming before his court, Rhenquist sat me down for over an hour where he peppered me with questions about Mary Baldwin history, curriculum, and reasons for starting the VWIL program. He said that he found my observations to be very interesting, but when I coyly asked him how he would vote on the case, he laughed and said that he would follow “Virginia tradition.” Later when two MBC deans wanted tickets to hear the arguments before the Court, I wrote and got an immediate response—a handwritten note with two tickets!

**Joseph Lelyveld, *His Final Battle: The Last Months of Franklin Roosevelt*. New York: Knopf, 2016. 416 pp. ISBN: 978-03853350-792**

Joseph Lelyveld, retired executive editor of the *New York Times* and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, has written a superb study of President Franklin Roosevelt’s last year in office. *His Final Battle* presents FDR as a man confronted with the leadership of the Allied military campaign against Japan and Germany. The challenges were endless—meeting Stalin for the first time in Tehran in November 1943, articulating the Four Freedoms, framing the United Nations, struggling to inaugurate a democratic government in Poland along with formulating plans for the defeats of Germany and Japan. To compound the stress, FDR had to make the crucial decision—would he run for reelection for a fourth term in November, 1944.

The stress of over twelve years in office during the Great Depression and World War II was literally killing FDR. He had suffered from polio since the early 1920s and was confined to a wheelchair, but he had been in rapid decline from apparent heart failure with very dangerous levels of blood pressure (at times around 250/150). He was still a relatively young man (age sixty-three at his death), but the weight of the stress was severely damaging his health.

Lelyveld suggests that President Roosevelt wanted to retire to his home at Hyde Park, but he felt strongly that he should stay in office at least until the Allies achieved total victory. FDR had a highly competent team in place to lead the war effort and felt that it would be dangerous to “switch horses in midstream.” FDR was well aware of polls that showed him winning by a hefty margin if the war was still in progress and him losing to New York governor Dewey by an equally large margin if the war was over by election day. The author asserts that while the President was willing to stand for a fourth term, he actually dreamed of resigning once peace was restored. FDR was very careful to jettison Vice President Henry Wallace, whom party leaders judged

too weak and leftist to effectively lead the country if the President died in office. Interestingly, the fact that FDR fully understood the nature of his fatal condition is made clear in the intimate diary of his confidant, Daisy Suckley.

The strongest impression that I as a reader get from this book is that FDR was really not fit to be President during his last year. He was too weak to work most of the time and near the end his doctors only permitted him to work two or three hours a day. He was rarely in the White House and spent an inordinate amount of time at Hyde Park or Warm Springs, Georgia, where he died in mid-April, 1945. Lelyveld gives the strong impression that FDR was so weak and so sick that he was not really capable of running his office and that his decision to run for a fourth term was a grossly irresponsible act. The fact is that Roosevelt had become remarkably absent from public view. His whereabouts were state secrets only known to a few members of his personal staff and he gave only one “fireside chat” during his last year in office.

Lelyveld’s book is very well written and researched. We have heard a careful study of one of the most consequential periods of our history where we were led by a man who was clearly too far gone to serve as an effective leader. Perhaps FDR’s greatest gift to his country was his selection of Senator Harry Truman to lead the country when the ailing president inevitably died in office.

**Doris Kearns Goodwin, *The Bully Pulpit: Teddy Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014. 960 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4165-4886-0.**

The “Progressive Era” at the dawn of the twentieth century was a time of momentous political and social change throughout the United States. The country had grown into a major industrial power during the decades following the Civil War, but with it the gap between the phenomenally wealthy few and the worker masses had grown huge. The reaction was a growing social and political unrest and growing revulsion for the values and men who drove the “Gilded Age” of the late nineteenth century.

A century ago there was a transformation that turned many Americans, including some leading politicians and journalists, toward the Progressive Movement. The core of the progressive message was a strong desire to promote a larger public interest, in order to make life more pleasant for the working majority as opposed to the privileged few. There was an interesting broad coalition of inspired politicians like Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Robert La Follette, and William Jennings Bryan, and an enthusiastic group of journalists who worked as “muckrakers” for then-popular magazines like *McClure’s*. They included editor Sam McClure and such talented writers as Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, William Allen White, and Lincoln Steffens.

Doris Kearns Goodwin’s *Bully Pulpit* is built around two deep relationships, that of Roosevelt and Taft and the writers employed by *McClure’s*. The author provides an extensive biography of Roosevelt and Taft. Roosevelt and his followers fought hard against the “Old Guard” of the then-dominant Republican Party. When an assassin felled President McKinley early

in his second term, Roosevelt suddenly found himself Chief Executive. To the horror of many old-line Republicans, Roosevelt launched an impressive agenda that including helping the average citizen to find increased fairness in life. He became involved in the breaking of business trusts, the regulation of railroads, creating national parks and monuments, and increasing the purity and effectiveness of foods and medicines.

When Roosevelt left the presidency in 1909, his anointed successor, William Howard Taft, became President. Taft attempted to carry on Roosevelt's ambitious agenda—he in fact launched more litigation against trusts than his predecessor. But while Roosevelt was willing to openly fight against the conservative old guard that once dominated the Republican Party, Taft sought a more conciliatory approach with the party's conservative wing hoping to find a broader consensus in government. Roosevelt, greatly disheartened by Taft's apparent capitulation to the conservatives, first challenged Taft for the 1912 Republican nomination and, when that failed, ran as a progressive "Bull Moose."

Goodwin's book, however, covers far more than the Taft-Roosevelt relationship. What makes this book really interesting is her coverage of the "muckraker" writers at *McClure's*. We get excellent coverage of Lincoln Steffan's exposure of political corruption in such places as Minneapolis, Ida Tarbell's high quality history of Standard Oil, Ray Stannard Baker's look at the turmoil in labor unions, and the quality political writing of William Allen White. These writers did much to attract public opinion to the progressive cause. They all enjoyed close relationships with Roosevelt who knew the value of having journalist friends.

I have read many books about the Progressive Era and about Taft and Roosevelt, but Goodwin's book is by far the best. She offers penetrating views into the personalities and worldviews of Taft and Roosevelt and how, despite their very different natures, there was much there to complement each other. But it is Goodwin's extensive analysis of the "muckraker" press and its influence on the progressive movement that makes this book especially valuable.

**Jon Meacham, *Destiny and Power: The American Odyssey of George Herbert Walker Bush*. New York: Random House, 2015. 864 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4000-6755-7.**

When Americans consider a candidate for President, his or her "experience" is often, though by no means always, one of the criteria used to evaluate the person. And yet when we look at the list of former presidents who had extensive experience in government service, we find that these people were largely unsuccessful. John Quincy Adams served in the Senate and as Secretary of State, but accomplished little as President. James Buchanan served in the House and Senate, and as an ambassador and as Secretary of State, yet he always makes the lists as one of the five worst Presidents in American history. George H. W. Bush served in the House, as Director of the CIA, ambassador to China and as head of the Republican National Committee, but how does he rank after his one-term presidency?

According to highly respected historian Jon Meacham, Bush's reputation

has steadily improved since the years of his short presidency. His biography of Bush, probably one of the longest presidential biographies, is a very carefully researched and nuanced book that provides the minutest information that any reader would like to know about Bush. Though *Destiny and Power* book was written with the full cooperation of Bush and his family, Meacham, who clearly likes his subject, is not afraid to dole out fair criticism, pointing out various problems and mistakes that have cropped up in Bush's life. Bush provided Meacham with an unlimited number of interview hours and gave him access to his diary, which he faithfully kept over major parts of his life.

Meacham starts the book with a succinct overview of family history and of Bush's growing up-years in Greenwich, Connecticut. The Bush family had long been successful as lawyers, ministers, businessmen, and politicians—his father served in the U.S. Senate—but they were never part of the ultra-rich folks that worked in New York and summered in Newport, Rhode Island. Bush was a serious student who upon graduation from Andover Academy joined the Navy as a fighter pilot a year after Pearl Harbor. He demonstrated great skill and bravery as a bomber in the Pacific.

He married Barbara and took her to Texas after graduating from Yale to try his luck in the oil business. Later he made two unsuccessful bids for the Senate, but did win two races for the House. During the 1970s he served various posts before serving two terms as Vice-President under Ronald Reagan. He handily defeated Governor Dukakis in the 1988 election, but lost badly to Bill Clinton in 1992.

Meacham highlights his admiring chapters of Bush as President as the courageous figure who successfully navigated the end of the Cold War and who formed a huge international coalition that defeated Saddam Hussein in the first Iraq war. He emerges here as a strong, yet quiet and calm conciliator who enhanced his country's reputation abroad and who had the courage to go against his most famous pledge to the American people ("Read my lips. No new taxes") by assenting to new taxes in order to more closely balance the budget. He had a very high approval rating at the end of the Iraq war, but lost most of this support in the 1992 election.

If one has time to wade through the almost nine hundred pages of this book, one will come away with a very well-written and researched tome on the Bush era. There are times where Meacham overdoes his praise for Bush but there are also many areas with clear objective criticism. There may be other worthy biographies of Bush, but nobody can match Meacham for his attention to detail and his personal closeness to Bush.

**Robert Strauss, *Worst.President.Ever: James Buchanan, The POTUS Rating Game, and The Legacy of the Least of the Lesser Presidents*. New York: First Lyons Press (Rowman & Littlefield), 2017. 257 pp. ISBN: 9781493024834**

Historians love to play the presidential rating game. Who was our best president—Lincoln, Washington, or perhaps Franklin Roosevelt? Who was our worst? It's impossible to come up with clear answers. Every period has its challenges.



Some presidents can glide through an uneventful period while another like Lincoln must deal with matters like the Civil War. Nevertheless, when presidential ratings lists come out, there are always a few names that race to the bottom: John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, George W. Bush, and perhaps Donald Trump. But veteran journalist and historian Robert Strauss has an unqualified winner: James Buchanan.

Strauss offers us a well-nuanced, researched and often fairly entertaining study of the history of presidential rating followed by a keen analysis of the failed Buchanan presidency. If one came to the presidency with a brilliant resume, that man would be Buchanan. Born in Pennsylvania where he prospered as a young lawyer, he represented his home state for long periods in the House of Representatives and the Senate. He served as the U.S. minister to Russia under Andrew Jackson and as minister to Great Britain under Franklin Pierce. Buchanan was also Secretary of State under James Polk.

Strauss insists that during his career in Congress and as an ambassador, Buchanan was weak and indecisive, often changing his mind on issues depending on the prevailing wind. This tendency might be okay for a member of Congress or a diplomat, where you defend policies that are not necessarily your own, but not as a president.

When Buchanan became the Democratic nominee in 1856, the nation was heading for Civil War. Party leaders felt that while Buchanan came from a northern state, Pennsylvania, he had many friends among prominent Southern leaders and was not an avid opponent of slavery. Buchanan campaigned on his promise to reconcile differences between North and South. The tragedy is that his acts only made the crisis worse.

Strauss shows us how Buchanan meddled in the Dred Scott Supreme Court case, pressuring the court to deny Scott his freedom. Buchanan mistakenly felt that the resolution of this case against Scott would solve the slave question once and for all. His economic policies exacerbated the Panic of 1857 and his actions in support of pro-slavery settlers in Kansas and of the Fugitive Slave Act enraged the North. During his last months in office in late 1860 and early 1861 he said that he opposed secession of states from the Union, but he did nothing to stop a majority of states from seceding. One remembers how in 1832 President Andrew Jackson quickly threatened South Carolina with military action over the Nullification crisis. Had Buchanan taken strong action to prevent secession of South Carolina and other states, there might not have been a horrendous Civil War.

Strauss' book is well researched, very clearly written, and a joy to read. Good clean narrative mixed in with lively humor. I am a Strauss convert—James Buchanan was indeed the Worst.President.Ever!!!

**Brian Kilmeade and Don Yaeger, *Andrew Jackson and the Miracle of New Orleans*. New York: Penguin Books, 2017. 120 pp ISBN: 978-0735213234**

The January 1815 Battle of New Orleans has enormous significance for the history of the United States. The British up to this point had victory upon

victory against disorganized and badly-led American forces. Several invasions of Canada had been thwarted, Baltimore was heavily bombed and the Capitol, White House, and other public buildings in Washington had been burnt to the ground. If the British could take New Orleans they would control the critically-important waterway of the Mississippi. The economy of the U.S. and its future growth would have been severely impaired.

The British invasion of Louisiana in late 1814 was substantial. There were perhaps eight to ten thousand British soldiers led by officers who had subdued the mighty armies of Napoleon in Europe. General Andrew Jackson had to create an army out of bands of militia, local pirates, and a number of volunteers. Their numbers were about half those of the British. Jackson, who had never received professional military training, nevertheless succeeded in organizing a strong fighting force. Despite the smaller size of his forces, Jackson took the initiative, built a strong defensive perimeter near the city, and took advantage of foolish British charges against American earthworks that led to the wholesale slaughter of the invaders.

There have been many good books published by reputable historians—including Theodore Roosevelt—on the history of the War of 1812. Kilmeade and Yaeger's book is more popular history than professional history. I bought my copy at an airport bookstore in Sacramento California. It was a good read for my flight and did a good job refreshing my mind with the details of the invasion and battle. The authors make a very interesting point that victory in this battle was a major plus for the United States—a British victory would have given the British a strong hold on New Orleans cutting off the Mississippi as a major American trade route. However, there is little critical analysis of the leadership of Jackson and no listing of major and/or primary sources. The authors are uncritically fawning of General Jackson, praising his positive points, but offering little historical criticism of this controversial man. What is startling is the author's unrelenting praise for Jackson with very little if any negative commentary concerning this controversial figure in American history.

Nevertheless, if you are flying anywhere in the near future and want something interesting but light to read to pass the time, I would recommend this work to you.

# Recent Acquisitions of the Augusta County Historical Society, October 15, 2017-October 31, 2018

A Report by Dr. Kenneth W. Keller,  
Archivist, ACHS

This report consists of a list of newly-acquisitioned, processed, and cataloged collections added to the ACHS holdings between October 15, 2017, and October 31, 2018. The members of the Society's Archives Committee, all volunteers, worked on making these collections accessible to researchers. Committee members consist of Dr. Kenneth W. Keller, Suzanne Fisher, John Sherwood, Mack Wilson, and Dr. Charles Blair. The Archives Committee added sixty new collections to our research materials. Every new collection has been described on our computerized accession register and entered into our software program, PastPerfect 4, which provides for archives, books, photographs, and objects. In these months, about fifty-five, researchers from seventeen states came to the archives to use the collections. The Society gratefully thanks the thirty-five donors of these collections: Staunton Public Library, Peter Heywang, Dr. Kenneth W. Keller, Sally Berger, June Frinks, Carolyn Suffern, Nancy Sorrells, Frank Johnston, Ruth Swortzel, Donna Alexander, the Richard Hamrick estate, Wayne Diehl, Joe Briggs, Larry McCutcheon, Janet and Earl Downs, Sun Trust Bank, Gordon Barlow, John and Harriet Sherwood, Barbara Wimble, Carter Moffett Douglass, John O. Poss, Stuart Cochran, Melissa Patrick and the Patrick Estate, Pamela Patrick, Amy Harris, Dr. Daniel A. Métraux, M. Elizabeth Hawpe in Memory of Lilly Waddell Hawpe, Ann Farabee, Theresa Harner Barr, James Buchanan Ballard, Marnie Gibbs, Page "Lolo" Kable, Deb Thornton, Tom Cook, Becci Harmon, and Mary Harman Scott. Office managers Carter Douglass and Mary Gooden have provided the clerical assistance in ordering the archival supplies necessary for proper archival storage. The entire collection contains 144 objects, 758 photographs (in addition to the 13,299 photographs and negatives in the Margo Kent Collection), 2,645 archival collections, and 1,442 books. ACHS welcomes financial contributions to house and maintain our growing collections in acid-free archival folders and document boxes as well as computer supplies and equipment.

**2017.0081** Staunton Development Company Map: framed Staunton Development Company Map, 1890, 22 ½ inches x 29 ½ inches.

**2017.0082** Heywang Ida Stover Collection: collection of photocopies of the Eisenhower family genealogy and items on the restoration the Columbine (Air Force 1); Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech (1953); Ida Elizabeth Stover (Ike's mother) materials—schoolhouse, Mt. Pisgah Cemetery in Mt. Sidney, Va.—headstones; Simon and Elizabeth Stover house; reproductions of family photos; census records of Ida Stover and David Jacob Eisenhower; materials on Mamie Eisenhower; Eisenhower Gettysburg, Pa., farm

**2017.0083** No Matter Who You Are Yard Sign: core foam yard sign, 18 ½ inches x 24 inches, in green, blue and orange, with inscription in Spanish, English, and Arabic: "No matter where you are from we're glad you're our neighbors"; summer 2017; These signs were produced in Harrisonburg by Mennonites and distributed in the Valley during the controversy over Muslim immigration exclusion from the U.S.; with Facebook website address: <https://www.facebook.com/welcomeyourneighbors...>

**2017.0084** Sally Burger and June Frinks Collection: collection of cardboard "tin types" for the *Evening Leader*, January 21, 1933; February 9, 10, 1933, and December 22, 1932, and found at 116 North Madison St.; with *Staunton News Leader* section Christmas Greeting section from 1950, issues of the *Staunton News Leader* from March 8, 1970 [total eclipse]; *Roanoke Times*, March 3, 1970;

**2017.0085** Verona Episcopal (Emmanuel Episcopal Chapel) Mission Sunday School Books: book from defunct church, inscribed "This book belongs to Verona Mission Sunday School," Helen Gordon, *Questions on the Life of Our Savior*. Primary Edition, 1869; book, paper jacket, "Verona Mission Circulating Library." Gleam: The Pastor's Daughter, no publisher or author listed

**2017.0086** Suffern Tambourine: tambourine with note, purchased at auction of Bessie Ruebush estate, 6/19/95

**2017.0087** Frank Johnston Houses Addendum: a collection of photocopies of materials about Staunton homes including William Peyton's description of historic Staunton houses

**2018.0001** Ruth Swortzel Collection: Four folders with the following contents: photocopies of photographs of oxen in a town; cutting logs; an article from the *Staunton News Leader* from 2015 about parking in Staunton; a history of Hildebrand Mennonite Church, Madrid, by Ruth Swortzel (2007)

**2018.0002** Donna Alexander Collection: collection of five folders containing the following: rules governing the cemetery of St. Michael's United Church of Christ [German Reformed], Bridgewater, Va.; a historical note on Salem Lutheran Church, Mt. Sidney, Va., and rosters of interments in Salem Lutheran Church Cemetery; rosters of students and teachers in Middle River District Schools, Augusta Springs, Pastures, Mt. Sidney School and High School, roster of Harmony School, Flint Hill School; a roster of baptisms for an unidentified church; a roster of interments in the Mt. Sidney Methodist Church Cemetery; a typescript muster roll of Co. G., 52<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regiment, Confederate Army

**2018.0003** Notes on Cultural Properties: photocopies of notes on Augusta County landmarks

**2018.0004** Nancy Sorrells Collection: collection of reports, compact discs, publications, maps, calendars, photographs, correspondence, and ephemera of

Nancy Sorrells. Includes the following: Joseph Nutt Studio drawings and prints ca. 2007 of historic houses in Staunton and Augusta County; Augusta County Historical Society ephemera; Shenandoah Valley Battlefield National Historic District report (2008); Strategic Plan, 2008-2010; Shenandoah Valley Battlefields National Historic District--Final Management Plan (2000) with maps; brochure, City of Staunton Civil War Driving Tour: Middlebrook Horse Show (2019, 2016, 2017); Songs from *Stonewall Country* (Don Baker and Robin and Linda Williams, 2017); Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind--Serving the Needs of Virginia's Children for over 160 Years; Shenandoah House at AMC--Grand Opening Celebration--Sunday November 11, 2007--AMC Hospice of the Shenandoah; Headwaters Soil and Water Conservation District--30th Anniversary Celebration (undated; ca. 1976); Mt. Crawford Mills--Yearly Calendar 1943 (verso "Beef Cutting Guide"); 71st Annual Augusta County 4-H & FFA Market Animal Show and Sale (undated); Mt. Solon Memories Calendar 2006--13 month calendar with photographs; Shenandoah Presbytery--30th 1974-2004--Celebrating Our 30th Year; Comprehensive Plan--Augusta County Virginia--1990-2014; Augusta County Comprehensive Plan 2007-2027--Planning Policy Area/Future Land Use Map and Summary of the Plan, Adopted by the Board of Supervisors. Augusta County, Virginia, April 25, 2007; Augusta County Comprehensive Plan 2005-2025 -- Existing Conditions Analysis Final Version, October 3, 2005; Comprehensive Plan Update--Growing Together to Shape Our Future 2005-2025--County of Augusta -- October 17, 2005; with copies of survey addressed to citizens of Augusta County pertaining to the "Future of Augusta County"; plus Memorandum to Comprehensive Plan Steering Committee; The Central Shenandoah Valley Greenway Plan--An Inventory and Natural Resource Assessment of the Central Shenandoah Region July 2004; Augusta County Service Authority--Celebrating 40 Years of Service--Fiscal Year 2006--Annual Report--July 1, 2005-June 30, 2006; Jed Hotchkiss Chronology--Jed Hotchkiss at Mossy Creek; Shenandoah Project Impact--The First Six Years 2000 --2006--Central Shenandoah Planning District Commission December 2000 plus Draft Copy; Shenandoah Watershed Plan--Environmental Assessment for the South River Watershed--A Supplement to the Original Watershed Plan for the Rehabilitation of South River Watershed Dam Numbers 23, 25, and 26--Augusta County, Virginia 2005; Report of the Upper Valley Regional Park Authority--A Transition Plan Regarding Conversion of Grand Caverns, Grottoes, Virginia, and Natural Chimneys, Mt. Solon, Virginia, to a State Park--A Report to the Secretary of Natural Resources, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and the 2004 Session of the Senate Finance Committee, and the 2004 Session of the General Assembly of Virginia--October 1, 2003; with letter, Joseph H. Maroon to David Leatherwood, Superintendent of the Upper Valley Regional Park Authority--January 16, 2003; Tour of Natural Chimneys Regional Park--8/15/05; Report of the Department of Conservation and Recreation--Feasibility Study for the Inclusion of Natural Chimneys and Grand Caverns Regional Parks in the State Park System. Senate Document No. 23, 2006; Report of the Augusta County Agricultural Task Force--An Industry at Risk--Findings and Recommendations--December 29, 2005; clipping, newspaper not indicated or dated, "County Bounty--Program is one of the ways to rein in coyotes"; Augusta County 2007 Coyote Bounty Report; Brochure, Shenandoah Valley Restoration Institute--Learn the Whys and Hows of Restoration: Workshops; Speakers; Project Site Tours and More--Saving Grandma's



[Moses's] House, September 17-18, 2004. Presented by Shenandoah Valley Rural Heritage Foundation; Central Augusta High School 50th Anniversary Banquet and Dance--July 2, 2016 [located at Beverley Manor Elementary School on Cedar Green Road. The former Central Augusta High School was a racially segregated county school for black people. Central Augusta High School lasted from 1961 to 1966.]; newsletter, Augusta Expo Event Center, June 2016. [contains brief history of Augusta Expo, 1969-2012]; Funeral and Memorial Cards: for Margaret H. Conner, 2015; Raymond Oliver Hays, 1994; Claude Harris, 1995; Orville Carlton Paynter, Sr. , 1995; Arthur Hampton Painter, 1994 (2 cards); Dennis O. Burnett, 2014; Susan Allen [Fitz] McCray, 2014 (2 cards); Robert Chambers Beam , Jr., 2014; Mary Angeline Mish Bundy, 2014; David Richard Beyeler, 2014; Twyman Hogue Helzer, 1995; Rita LaVerne [Smith] Wilson, 2016; William Andrew Borden, 1968; Frances Joy Houff, 2016; Joseph Byron [J.B.] Yount III, 2016 (2 cards); Joseph "Joe" Schomo, 2016; Bonnie C. Dewhurst, 2017; Carl Westwood Drawbond, Sr., 2014; Robert Lynwood "Bob" Hunt, 2017; Henry Reed McCray, 2017; card "I oppose building a new Augusta County Courthouse!", 2016; compact discs: "George Hawke, History of Waynesboro, Va., Vol II, Chapters 1-8;" Additions to George Hawke's Waynesboro Book; manuscript, 2.1.06, George Hawke; Woodrow Wilson, 1915-1924; "Streetcars and Cobblestones--Staunton Looks Back--10" [2 copies]; "Woodrow Wilson to 1915" 16; Woodrow Wilson thru 1915" 16; VSDB History; "Woodrow Wilson 1915-1924 17"; "The Spirit of Augusta--A Musical Journey Celebrating the Unique History & Heritage of Augusta County--a legacy project commissioned by the Augusta Jamestown Committee"; Waynesboro Aerial photo, 1965 with printout; "Waynesboro Historical Illustrations 2/24/06"; book, *The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1940, 1943; with rubber stamp on flyleaf, "Church of the Good Shepherd, Folly Mills, Va."

**2018.0005** Hamrick Postcard Scans from ACHS Exhibit "Preserving the Past for the Future": Twenty-six scans of postcards from 1908-1924, of Staunton, Waynesboro, and Augusta includes views of Calf Mountain, Waynesboro; views of business section of Staunton, Va.; Ingleside Resort; Chesapeake and Western Railroad near Staunton, Va.; Seawright Hotel, 1900; 1906 burned; view of Bird's Eye View of Staunton showing Betsey Bell Mountain in distance; Bird's Eye View from Reservoir Hill; Staunton Cavern; Fishburne Military Academy; Bird's Eye View of Staunton, Va., and Du Pont Rayon Co.; scenes from Gypsy Hill Park, 1908-1912; Persian Palace, Weyers Cave, Grottoes of the Shenandoah, Grottoes, Va.; Dress Parade, Augusta Military Academy, Ft. Defiance, Va.; Swannanoa Gateway, Jefferson Highway summit; mountain view near Staunton, Va. Natural Chimneys, Mt. Solon, Va.; Old Water Mill [McCormick Farm] Hotel Beverley, Staunton, Va.

**2018.0006** Jacob H. Bailey 1912 Receipt—Middlebrook, Va.—Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbia, S.C.: receipt for donation to Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbia, S.C. , Building Fund, 1912

**2018.0007** Early Railroads Collection: The Chesapeake and Ohio: one folder, two books: Chesapeake and Ohio Historical Society, Chesapeake & Ohio (Virginia Central) in the Civil War; Series 17 Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Series, 2017; Alfred L. Kresse, Jr., Chesapeake & Ohio Lexington, Va., Branch Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Series 16, 2016

**2018.0008** "Paging through History" Newspaper Supplement 1 folder;

newspaper supplement to the *News Leader*, December 10, 2017; contains reprints of old photographs, Staunton personalities, advertisement, accidents

**2018.0009** Brothers and Myers Family Genealogy: one folder; family genealogy, spiral bound, with table and photographs; Brothers and Myers family lived in Virginia and East Tennessee

**2018.0010** Joe Briggs Bicycling Book: on library shelves; Joseph Briggs, *Bicycling in the Gathering Months*; a light bicycling adventure on short easy routes during the summertime in the southern Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and some of the neighboring locales; includes Staunton, Waynesboro, Churchville, Bridgewater, and over the Blue Ridge

**2018.0011** McNeeley Family Genealogy: on library shelves; book, Larry McCutcheon, *McNeeley, Our Roots in Virginia and East Tennessee*, 2017

**2018.0012** Church Directory, The Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd, Folly Mills, Va.: one folder, Church Directory of the Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd, Folly Mills, Va.

**2018.0013** Janet Downs Collection: one folder, six postcards, three views of Swannanoa, two views of each; two issues of the *News Leader*, "Statler Brothers 50 Years Later," February 22, 2015

**2018.0013** Mt. Tabor Church Interpretive Outline: one folder; an interpretive outline for museum staff at Museum of American Frontier Culture; Mt. Tabor Log Church was a Methodist Church near New Hope built by enslaved African-Americans about 1850; the church was used as a school for African-American children during the Jim Crow era. Mt. Tabor Methodist Church built a new structure in 1912. Old building was dismantled, rebuilt, and restored at the Museum of American Frontier Culture in 2015.

**2018.0015** Raphine Christian Church bulletin, 2017 one folder; church bulletin from December 3, 2017, at the Raphine Christian Church near Greenville; congregation connected with the Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)

**2018.0016** Sun Trust Collection: one folder; five glossy photographs of laying the foundation for the Safe Deposit Vault for National Valley Bank; one rolled **News Leader**, 1940 Augusta County Bicentennial issue; front page article about Nazi attack on Norway

**2018.0017** Carolyn Suffern Collection: collection of objects: one plastic Planters Bank desk calendar, 1973; one metal one-foot ruler, Dozier Tyler Co., Staunton, Va.; one pair of eyeglass frames, from Dr. Loewner, optometrist, Masonic Building; one bottle of oil of citronella, Hogshead Druggists; one pill box from Willson Drugstore, West Main Street, Staunton, prescribed by Dr. John Hiner Guss.

**2018.0018** Gordon Barlow Augusta County Book, Gordon Barlow, *Augusta County—Virginia's Western Frontier*, 2018; illustrated with photographs of Gordon Barlow's collection of objects from Native Americans, colonial and revolutionary Virginia; signed by author; indexed

**2018.0019.01-05** Ken Keller Woodrow Wilson Book Collection: five books: *Woodrow Wilson, Division and Reunion, 1829-1889*. Collier Books Edition. (1961) John Milton Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest—Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (1983); Gerald W. Johnson, *Woodrow Wilson. With the Collaboration of the editors of Look Magazine* (1944); Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson—Revolution, War, and Peace* (1979), *Woodrow Wilson, State Papers and Addresses* (1918)

**2018.0020** Sherwood Collection of Staunton and Lee High School Memora-

bilia: Robert E. Lee High School *Record*, 1940; three certificates for Mattie Bickel, Staunton High School courses, 1890-1892

**2018.0021** Janet Downs Notes on Mills from Jean Critzer; folder of notes on mills in Augusta County and in neighboring counties

**2018.0022** Nancy Sorrells Jamestown Anniversary Collection: two standard size Hollinger boxes, containing seventeen folders. From about 2004-2011, Nancy Sorrells was on the Augusta County Board of Supervisors representing the Riverheads Magisterial District. She became chair of the Augusta County-Jamestown 2007 Committee, which functioned from 2005 to 2008. Linda Petzke represented the Augusta County Historical Society on the committee. The Jamestown Committee developed a logo, brochures, and a website and sponsored a number of programs that were coordinated with the statewide Jamestown 2007 celebrations. The highlights of the Augusta Jamestown celebrations were: 1. an award-winning musical "Spirit of Augusta"; 2. farm tours; 3. a commemorative throw (blanket); 4. life size cutouts of personalities in Augusta County history and a passport to Augusta County history. The collection comprises seventeen folders. Included are CDs, commemorative pins, a Virginia 2007 map, souvenirs of the Jamestown 2007 celebration. From the local committee there are also minutes and a budget. The collection gives a good idea about how state and local governments spend money. The contents are as follows: portfolio, Virginia's Natural Resources: Then and Now...1607-2007, which includes a National Geographic map "Exploring the Chesapeake--400 Years and Today" [largely east of I-95 and the Catoclin Mountains] and Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation map "John Smith's Adventure" showing twenty-two sites from Richmond and Petersburg east; magazine, *America's 400th Anniversary--The Journey That Changed the World*; portfolio, *America Today--400 Years Strong*, with organizational chart, list of ways to participate in the celebration, brochures, leaflets, newsletter; Gloucester County newspaper--2007 Special; notes on annual meeting of program chairs, January 18, 2007; highway map of Virginia; leaflet, Foundations and Future of Democracy International Conference Series; list of events sponsored by Colonial Williamsburg, Verizon, and Norfolk Southern; itinerary, Captain John Smith reenactment voyage; order form for community flags; business card, Amy J. Ritchie, Statewide Program Manager; miscellaneous brochures; portfolio, card from Thomas K. Norment, Jr., Co-Chairman of the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, two bumper stickers, brochures including "Virginia Indian Heritage Events", Speakers Bureau, website brochure, Jamestown Education Initiatives; wineries conference [thirty Virginia wineries listed, none from Augusta County]; Sultana Projects; list, 250 ways to participate in the Commemoration of America's 400th Anniversary; list, 10 ways to energize your community to participate in Virginia 2007; model visitor survey; list of proposed community projects; fact sheet, America's 400th Anniversary; small poster of Signature Events, 2006-2007; America's 400th Anniversary; newsletter, Jamestown 2007, April 2006; list of Federal Jamestown 400th Commemoration Commission Initiatives; leaflet of federal acknowledgement of Virginia Indian Tribes; handout, 264,000 Tourism Jobs--Virginia's Economic Powerhouse!; photocopy of memo, Richmond Area Prepares for Big Party [City Edition], *Times-Dispatch*, February 13, 2005; handout, Virginia Tourism Corporation Strategic Marketing Plan for Jamestown 2007, 2004-2008; estimates of sales; visitor study; expenditures of Virginia tourism corporation, Augusta and Waynesboro;

handout, fun facts; Virginia Tourism monitor; reprint of *Smithsonian* article, "Rethinking Jamestown," January 2005; Jamestown 2007, Steering Committee Annual Report; Jamestown 2007--2004, 2005 Report to the General Assembly; Community Program Regional Meeting, Blackfriars Playhouse [undated]; list of 2007 Jamestown Staff Members; letter from Timothy Kaine, February 17, 2006; letter from The White House, February 28, 2007, George W. Bush; handout on film on "America's 400th Anniversary--the Journey That Changed the World" I; handout on education initiatives; list of national and statewide partnerships; handout, putting the "I" in America's 400th Anniversary"; fact sheet, America's 400th Anniversary--Fact Sheet"; list of proposed community projects; visitor survey; power point print outs; apparel and accessories; copy of article from *Washington Post*, "We Need a Water Trail to Trace Capt. John Smith's Travels:"; handout, "Cutting Through the Clutter--A Public Relations Primer"; handout on Terence Malick's "The New World"; release, British Group Hosts Reception to Highlight Reciprocal Tourism in Virginia; Augusta County Cut-Outs Project (lifesize cutouts are now owned by ACHS): letter from the Presbyterian Historical Society, Montreat, N.C., and permission to publish contract copy; Photograph Reproduction Policy from Presbyterian Historical Society; two handouts concerning Cyrus McCormick for exhibit; sign, "Take Home a Photo of you....."; invoice from Megaprint, Plymouth, N.H.; Handout, "Another Visitor from Our Past...." (3 copies); guide for Scavenger Hunt for "Another visitor from our past"; portfolio, Jamestown Settlement--Permanent Exhibition: Three Cultures One Story--America's Story (2006); Saturdays on the Farm--Augusta County Working Farm Tours (2007); clipping, *News Leader*, July 16, 2006, "Augusta County Farm Tour Drifts Far Afield"; *Washington Post*, May 20, 2006, "Augusta County Taps into Jamestown Excitement"; *Lancaster Farming*, August 12, 2006, "Augusta Farm Tours Commemorate Jamestown"; map, several copies, "Augusta County Farm Tour" (shows locations of Polyface Farm, Hamilton Farm, Castaline Trout Farm, Springdale Water Gardens, Fuchsia Fleece Alpaca Farm, McCormick Farm, Christian's Creek Holsteins; handout, The Shenandoah Valley Agricultural Research Center since 1737"; two 8.5 inch photographs of farm tour scenes; Waiver and photographic permission; handout, "Down on the Farm"--Augusta County--August 19, 2006 (pertains to dairy farming, sheep, beef, horses; handouts, green paper, "Come Home to Augusta County...by going "Down on the Farm, August 19, 2006; newspaper insert, "People, Land and Water Special Issue--U. S. Department of the Interior," "America's 400th Anniversary--1607-2007", Historic Jamestown 2007; The *Washington Post*, May 9, 2007, Jamestown Special Section; memo from Mack Swift and Richard Adams, The Musical Play, "Spirit of Augusta" [undated]; resume, L. Mack Swift; proposal, "Daughter of the Stars" (later renamed "Spirit of Augusta")--An Outdoor Musical Drama Portraying the History and Heritage of Augusta County, Virginia--An Augusta County Jamestown 2007 Legacy Project"; letter with envelope from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, March 17, 2006, [acknowledging receipt of proposal]; brochure, A New Center for the Arts in the Valley, BRCC Fine Arts Center"; WUP Certificate, for Nancy Sorrells, November 18-18, 2007; computer print, photograph of cast of performance; two compact discs, "The Spirit of Augusta--A Musical Journey Celebrating the Unique History & Heritage of Augusta County"--A Legacy Project Commissioned by the Augusta Jamestown Committee; three compact discs, "Spirit of Augusta--A Song Sam-

pler"; four performance programs, "Spirit of Augusta", November 16-18, 1997; order form for tickets, Spirit of Augusta; script, October 18,19, 20, 21, 2007, "Augusta History Play" [in blue binder]; clipping, *Staunton News Leader*, November 3, 2008, "County Historical Drama Wins National Achievement Award"; clipping, *News Leader* editorial, September 4, 2008, "'Spirit of Learning"; photographs for exhibit to get people to participate; most unidentified and undated; include Grand Caverns, Viette's, picture of Andre Viette amid day lilies, Natural Chimneys, autumn woods, iron truss bridge, Augusta Stone Church, scene from fair, William Sheppherd, Annual Sweet Dreams Day, cornfield and silo, two shots of Eisenhower's parents, Jamestown bicentennial flag, labels, Come Home to Augusta log; Come Home to Augusta brochures; program for Augusta County Historical Society April 24, 2007, Banquet, "Inhabitant with Good People"; handout, "You Are Invited to Be a Part of History"; computer printout of brochure face for "A Dozen Dang Good Reasons to Invest ins Augusta County Virginia"; list of Come Home to Augusta County Events at the Augusta County Library"; memo from Mark McCann, Virginia Cooperative Extension Service, to Nancy Sorrells, February 2, 2006, concerning promotion of America's Anniversary Garden project; handout from Virginia Tech Virginia Cooperative Extension Service on America's Anniversary Garden: A Statewide Corridor and Entrance Enhancement Program; compact disc with Publicity Materials and Resources; Augusta 2007 Commemorative Blanket order form; plan for design of blanket; copy of advertisement; Joe Nutt drawing of the Glebe Schoolhouse, Swoope, Va.; reports on Augusta County's Jamestown; Commemoration, [www.augustajamestown2007.org](http://www.augustajamestown2007.org); final report on Virginia 2007 Community Program, November 2007; cd labeled Jamestown 2007; report, Economic Impact Analysis of America's 400th Anniversary Jamestown 2007 Commemoration on the Commonwealth of Virginia; materials on the National Association of Counties Meeting-tag with Virginia is for Lovers tag with map of Jamestown park and schedule of events; copy of program for 2007 Virginia NACO Annual Conference and Exposition, Richmond, Va, July 13-17, 2007; copy of letter of R. Steven Landis, Virginia House of Delegates, and Emmett W. Hanger, Jr., Virginia Senate, to members of the House of Delegates and Virginia Senate, February 19, 2007, inviting delegates and State Senators to Augusta County Jamestown Commemoration Events; bookmark and buttons for Jamestown 2007; pen and state highway map, 2006-2007; invitation to Jamestown Anniversary events, May 11-12, 2007; Jamestown 2007 Committee minutes, treasurer's report, proposed budget, two-year budget, sponsor registration form; memo on marketing & PR and sponsorships; list of 2007 partners, sponsors, contacts, and website addresses; list of Virginia 2007 Community Program Official Communities Contact List [Virginia Counties]; list of "talking points" for speech; list of sponsorship levels; memo for Jamestown 2006 "Sail" Meeting with invitation; memo on The Goodspeed Sail; printout, Augusta County A Jamestown 2007 Community; agenda for Annual Meeting of Community Program Chairs, 2006; steering committee agenda, Augusta County;. report on remaining Jamestown throws [blankets]; planning materials for Come Home to Augusta County brochure; handout, About Jamestown 2007; memo, You Are Invited to be a part of history; sponsor registration form; agenda, Greater Augusta Regional Tourism Board, March 7, 2006; business card, Nancy Sorrells, Supervisor, Riverheads District; agenda, Virginia 2007 Community Program, Shenandoah Valley Regional



Meeting; photocopy of clipping for column by Ross Richardson, Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 21, 2003; memo, Augusta County Kicks off Virginia 2007 planning; brochure, Living the Country Life; logos; Virginia Community Application Form; memo of Virginia Community Representatives Meeting materials, President's Room, Harrisonburg; list of committee members; 2007 timeline; a list of sponsors; list of red, white and blue plants unused stationery--envelopes, letterhead, two Activity Registration forms [not filled out]

**2018.0023** Ayers Civil War Book Collection: book, Edward L. Ayers, *The Thin Light of Freedom* (2017)

**2018.0024** Wimble family genealogy: spiral bound book, prepared by Barbara Wimble, family genealogy and memoirs with photographs and index

**2018.0025** Carter Moffett Douglass World War I Portfolio: book, 1914-1919—The War of Nations Portfolio in Rotogravure Etchings; Mid-Week Pictures, New York City (1919). *New York Times* Company, Publishers.[This bound book portfolio is stored in a grey flat Hollinger box in the fireplace (corner Wilson) room, southwest corner shelf.]

**2018.0026** World War I Exhibit CD: "Exceeding Expectations—Staunton, Augusta County, and World War I": a compact disc, with photographs of exhibits in ACHS exhibit about World War I

**2018.0027** George M. Cochran envelope: envelope from C.C. Francisco to George M. Cochran, Attorney at Law, 1889, from Millboro Springs, Va. to Staunton, Va.

**2018.0028** Patrick Collection large collection of eleven boxes of manuscripts, correspondence, legal documents, ledgers, photographs and objects from the Cochran, Robertson, Stuart, and Patrick families formerly stored in the Braeburn house attic; from Stuart Cochran, 131 books from the library of the Cochran family. The Patrick Collection consists of the following series: Series 1: Patrick Collection: extensive collection of materials on Cochran and Cochran, a Staunton legal firm and its clients, from late nineteenth century until 1920s; papers relating to the Staunton Beautification Commission, 1963-1980; some papers of the Historic Staunton Foundation; local historical books concerning genealogy, local church history, and miscellaneous topics; shirt collars of Peyton Cochran; real estate documents, maps, correspondence concerning the creation of the National Forests, correspondence from the Democratic State Committee; memorandum for county and precinct organization; Franklin Delano Roosevelt campaign materials, Virginia, 1932; correspondence of Peyton Cochran with clients; Cochran and Cochran legal firm; correspondence concerning tenants; invoices, bills of sale, accounts, photographs; poll tax receipts; list of rooming houses at the University of Virginia; letters of young lady "Lou"; Series 2 Cochran Series: seventy-nine folders of correspondence and papers involving law cases of Peyton Cochran and associates ca. 1890-1910; letter file; rare books; Virginia Historical Society Collections; [Peyton Cochran was the father of Justice George Cochran.] Series 3 Stuart Family Papers: relating to Alexander H. H. Stuart and family; correspondence of Alexander H. H. Stuart has been given to the University of Virginia Special Collections department. [Susie Baldwin Robertson was the mother of Justice George Cochran.] Typescript copies of the Alexander H.H. Stuart family correspondence can be found in the Eleanor Patrick Collection. 2018.0051.] Series 4: Robertson papers: Robertson family correspondence, medical journals; The Outlook, 1910, 1911; personal diary of Susie Robertson; hymnal, Trinity Protestant Episcopal

Church, 1892; Protestant Episcopal Church, *Book of Common Prayer*, 1907; book, the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin; text, The Virginia Report of 1799 with the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. Series 5: United Daughters of the Confederacy publications; minutes of the Waynesboro chapters of the U.D.C.; minutes of state meetings of the U.D.C. with delegations from Augusta County

**2018.0029** Janet and Earl Downs Book Collection: Collection of books from Janet and Earl Downs including J. Houston Harrison, *Settlers by the Long Grey Trail* (1935). Reprint; Elizabeth Wilson Hodges, Emma Wilson Jordan, Martha Wilson Black, and William Long Hodges, *These Came to Augusta and Rockbridge* (2015); Elizabeth Wilson Hodges, *They Came to Rockingham* (2004); Park Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road*; Howard McKnight Wilson, *Great Valley Patriots* (1976)

**2018.0030** Harris Collection: Mrs. Harris was a teacher at Woodrow Wilson Memorial High School and a graduate of R.E. Lee High School in Staunton. This collection includes schoolbooks, *Hornets Nest* yearbooks from Woodrow Wilson Memorial High School, copies of *The Record*, the yearbook of Robert E. Lee High School, the *New Baptist Hymnal* [used in First Baptist Church, Staunton], *Shirey's Guidebook* (1966), *Beautiful Thornrose—Memorial Edition* [World War I commemorations] (1921), memorabilia from the fiftieth reunion of the Robert E. Lee High School, 1955, clippings from newspapers about Robert E. Lee High School and Woodrow Wilson Memorial High School. This collection was donated in honor of Victoria Clark Harris and Carl Harris by their daughter Amy Harris.

**2018.0031** Hawpe Collection: A collection of nine folders consisting of six stock certificates mounted on core foam; empty envelopes mailed to Miss Julia Burwell 1908, 1909, 1911, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hawpe from U.S.S. Manatee, 1944-1955; postcards from 1906-1908 of Staunton, Harrisonburg, Lexington, Richmond, various Virginia locales, West Virginia, New York City, Boston, Peterborough and Durham, England, also comic and romantic postcards, Easter cards, all from the late nineteenth century to about 1910; University of Virginia commencement program, 1938; list of distinguished students, U.Va.; brochure on the New York World's Fair of 1939; U. Va. newspaper, *College Topics*; World War II ration books, gasoline stamps; postcards; poll tax receipts; copy of the *Augusta Argus*, March 22, 1913; letter concerning Basic City (valueless) stock; letterhead from State Farm Insurance, Staunton, Va.; scans of postcards; also a wooden doll's bed given to Julia Burwell from Mrs. Newton Argenbright then given to Betty Hawpe, hand cranked telephone, wall mounted, late nineteenth century, from New Hope, Va. This collection given by M. Elizabeth Hawpe in memory of Lily Waddell Hawpe.

**2018.0032** Ann Farahee Collection: tinted pictures of Staunton YMCA Building; rotogravure newspaper insert undated in "Present Pictorially Staunton and Augusta County"

**2018.0033** Nancy Sorrells Collection Addendum: County of Augusta, Comprehensive Annual Financial Report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 2004; for the fiscal year ended June 30, 2008; Augusta County budget, 2003-2004; 2009-2010; *Virginia Wildlife Magazine*, May / June 2016; Central Shenandoah Bicycle Plan June 2005; booklet, *Augusta County—A Virginia Community Profile*, 2000; Nancy Sorrells for the Fort Lewis Lodge, Bath County. The Fort Lewis Story; Augusta County Service Authority, Verona, Va; Comprehensive Annual Financial Report—Years Ended June 30, 2005 and 2006; photocopy of article in *News Leader*, October 12, 2011 "Hard Work and Perseverance are Hallmarks of Staunton Man's Life" [about

Francisco B. Newman, Jr.] two calling cards for Francisco Beale Newman, Jr., LTC U.S. Army, Retired, 1974; spiral bound booklet, *Everyone Served—Recollections of World War II*, Compiled by E. I. Thomas Chair; Shirley Craft, Colonel Thomas Hughhart Chapter, NSDAR; telephone book, *Raphine*, July 1979 {accompanying note says "Southern Augusta Co./ Northern Rockbridge Telephone Line; program, 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Stuarts Draft Ruritan Club, 1939-2014; *News Leader Fact Books*, 2001,2006, 2016/2017; photograph of Robert E. Lee (twentieth century)

**2018.0034** Owen Harner New Hope Collection: one file box of historical research pertaining to the New Hope area of Augusta County including files and copies of documents compiled by Owen Harner for his book about New Hope. Included are numerous photographs, a DVD of the closing of the New Hope School, and a New Hope Post Office book

**2018.0035** William Edmundson "Grumble" Jones Book: book, James Buchanan Ballard, *William Edmundson "Grumble " Jones, The Life of a Cantankerous Confederate*. Grumble Jones died at the Battle of Piedmont, one of two Civil War battles that occurred in Augusta County, both of which were Union victories (the other was the Battle of Waynesboro).

**2018.0036** Willie Lobban Gibbs Kable Portrait: oil portrait of Willie Lobban Gibbs Kable, mother of the Staunton Military Academy

**2018.0037** Page "Lolo" Kable Collection: four small Hollinger boxes, 5 inches x 11 inches x 9 inches containing two books, *Eagles Mere and the Silver Highlands* (Sullivan, Co., Pa.); *"Conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline:" History of Trinity Episcopal Church*, 1996; postcard, O'Brien's Restaurant, Waverly, N.Y.; notice of room rates at Eagles Mere Park, Pa;; issue of the *Hotel Herald*, August 10, 1949; brochure, Forest Inn

**2018.0038** Smith's Transfer Memorabilia: a collection of memorabilia of Smith's Transfer Trucking Firm of Staunton, Va.; toy trucks, green tie; metal foot ruler, charm bracelet, pin, lighter, ash trays, metal belt buckle, Teamsters Union patch "Retired Member"; decals, 2 pocket knives, ring on stand, Teamster pin, 21 year safe driver pin, 2 Bulova watches; bumper sticker, 2 copies, drivers and dockmen safety guide, golf ball, money clip, wooden pencils, pens, mug

**2018.0039** Reese/Macomb World War I Items: World War I memorabilia of Reese Douglas Macomb, 464 Aero Squadron; given by granddaughter; aerial photographs of Metz, France; of Montfauguy; perhaps Paris; photograph of U.S. soldiers at Christmas; Photograph of "wreckage left behind"; photograph of bi-plane SPA Dover Compiègne sector. photograph of ruined buildings; photograph of sunning soldiers with one shot in neck; PFC stripe, red on olive; lanyard shoulder cord; signal corps pin; typed permission to attend football game

**2018.0040** Tom Cook Collection: miscellaneous collection of tax receipts, family correspondence, business papers, 1850s-1910; three wooden panels of laminated documents on wood; Patterson family papers; family from Mount Meridian, Augusta County, Va.; tax receipts, 1864, 1871; Valley Railroad shipping note, 1870s; real estate tax, Middle River District; note from Augusta County Commissioner of Roads to George Patterson; receipt for settlement of debt; promissory notes; sales tax for flour, 1879; Shenandoah Baptist Church Sunday School, promotion certificate, 1936, 1939; obituary for Lelia Patterson Cook, 1963; miscellaneous 1837-1906; land transfer documents; ad for Clark Helix needles; accounts for sales of lumber and rails; deposition, George C. Patterson and John B. Baldwin; paid

bills and promissory notes; receipt for payment to Central Presbyterian Church, Richmond, 1873; receipt signed by Jefferson Kinney; church collection envelope; Mt. Horeb Presbyterian receipt for payment of six months' pastor's salary, 1884, 1885; notes on a lawsuit; leather wallet with receipts; two boxes for containing wooden spools of Clark's thread containing above documents

**2018.0041** Morrison Dunsmore Business College Diploma, 1948: diploma certificate, James S. Morrison, Master of Accounts, Dunsmore Business College, Staunton, Va., 1948; [STORED IN MAP CABINET]

**2018.0042** Suffern American Revolution Bicentennial Collection: two small Hollinger boxes containing Spencer gifts plate with eagle and flags; ceramic mug, gray and blue, with word; "America" 1776; facsimile of the Declaration of Independence—gift to Avon representatives; clear pressed glass shield with words, 1776-1976; book, Eric Sloane, *The Spirit of 1776*; book, 1776-1976 –*America's 200 Years*; maps of events of the American Revolution

**2018.0043** Expoland Papers: ten folders about Augusta Expoland; clippings about efforts to restart the county fair in Augusta County, 1986; Avis Homemakers Extension Club papers; Greater Shenandoah Valley Fair Waynesboro, East Side Speedway, 1986; Volunteer Services Council, 2007-2011; spiral bound audit reports, Augusta County Fair, 1992-1993; Augusta Expoland Meeting Minutes, 1992-1998; by-laws of Augusta Expoland; ad for gun show; first annual car and truck show

**2018.0044** Jean Gottmann *Virginia in Our Century* book: book, Jean Gottmann, *Virginia in Our Century* (1955)

**2018.0045** Lithograph, Christian Schuessle Lithograph painting, "The Power of the Gospel"; lithograph of Christian Schuessle painting "The Power of the Gospel" showing the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians. In the eighteenth century, Moravians traveled through the Shenandoah Valley from their settlements in Pennsylvania to the Moravian settlements in North Carolina.

**2018.0046** Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike Alliance Compact Discs: four compact discs from the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike Alliance about episodes in the history of the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike: Volume 1: Switchbacks and Wagon Tracks—Building the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike; Volume 2: Holding Rugged Ground: The Civil War Along the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike; Volume 3: We'd All Be Millionaires If We Had It Now!—Reconstruction and Industrial Revolution Along the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike; Volume 4: Model T's and Model Roads: The Bumpy Ride Into the Modern Era Along the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike. ACHS past presidents Katharine Brown and Nancy Sorrells are interviewed on the soundtracks

**2018.0047** Whitmore Hotel Poster: poster, ca. 1981, found posted on the Whitmore Hotel, Central Avenue; poster entitled "Vatican Controls the Following...."

**2018.0048** Virginia Amish-Mennonite Collection: brochure, "Congregations of the Virginia Mennonite Conference" [lists Staunton, Waynesboro vicinity, and Augusta County Congregations]; brochure, "Who Are the Amish?"; brochure, "What Is the Relief Sale?" [held at Expoland and Rockingham Fairgrounds]; brochure, "Virginia Mennonite Conference Visitor Center" [Harrisonburg, Va.]; *Eastern Mennonite College Bulletin*, February 1975; January 1976. The Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives; magazine, *Christian History*, Volume 4, No. 1 [Anabaptists and Mennonites] newspaper, *The Budget*, June 19, 1996

**2018.0049** William Henry Sheppard Collection: Photocopies from Wikipedia

and various on-line Presbyterian publications about William Henry Sheppard, an African-American missionary to the Congo from Augusta County; includes six personal mailing cards with photographs of Congo scenes and William Henry Sheppard; calendar mounted on straw mat from 1912 showing Lapsley Mission School, Belgian Congo

**2018.0050** Mary Baldwin College Sesquicentennial Videotape: videotape of 150 years of Mary Baldwin College prepared by the college for its sesquicentennial in 1992; narrated by Dr. Patricia H. Menk and others

**2018.0051** Eleanor Patrick Collection: A large collection of correspondence, minutes, clippings, and reports on various civic improvement projects in Staunton in which Eleanor Patrick was an important leader. Included in the collection are typescript copies of letters of Alexander H. H. Stuart, 1838-1849; a report on the C. B. Coiner house from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission; an account book of Timothy Marmion, Staunton, 1843-1855; a report on the Johnson Street neighborhood project; Staunton Downtown Development Association minutes; brochure, America's Frontier, Ltd., Colonel Andrew Lewis—Colonel Charles Lewis Memorial Highway; pamphlet, A Brief History of Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church (1905) by Rev. Dr. George W. Finley; chart, the Descent of Augusta County; photocopy of a clipping about Julian Quarles, '35, escape from a German prisoner of war camp in World War II; article about Elwyn Farm plantation (3 miles west of Staunton); newspaper insert, Augusta County 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, November 5, 1988; minutes, Community Involvement Awareness Meeting, 1993; list of officers of the Augusta County Historical Society, 1994; correspondence, Community Foundation of the Central Blue Ridge; photocopies of Archibald Stuart correspondence, Virginia Historical Society; clippings, Days of Yore column, "Locust Isle" and the Patrick Family, April 23, 1994; Hebron's Grey Gables house; the Catlett House; 1993 calendar, Augusta County Historical Society; notes from the meeting of the Augusta County Historical Society, 1997; folder on William Sheppard; various papers on King's Daughters'—Virginia Branch Report 2001; KDH papers, list of members of Margaret Clem Circle 2001; North American Indian Directory, King's Daughters', 1995; notes on the Staunton Victorian Festival; photographs of the old King's Daughters' Hospital Building on Frederick Street on the Mary Baldwin College campus; clippings on the Staunton Area Transportation Plan, ca. 1966; hearing minutes, Staunton Zoning Study and Staunton Area Transportation Study, 1969; clipping White/Dold house; memo from City Manager, Virginia Rental Rehabilitation Program; information sheet on William Phipps and William Sheppard; memo, Speakers Bureau, Staunton Beautification Commission; brochure, Staunton Beautification Commission; *Virginia Forest Magazine*, Fall, 1967; framed portrait, Margaret Bottome [spelled Bottome; leader of King's Daughters' International]; KDH recognition certificate, Silver Cross Circle; miscellaneous papers pertaining to King's Daughters Hospital; booklet, *The Writings of Margaret Bottome—reprints from the Ladies' Home Journal*; magazine, *The Silver Cross*, October 1891; April 1895; *Milady's Own Book*, a recipe book published by the King's Daughters' Union with advertisements; manuscript, Richard K. Macmaster, *Augusta County History*, chapters 4-17 (1987); Gift Catalog, Historic Staunton Foundation; housing study, Staunton, 1971; correspondence, Central Shenandoah Planning District Commission, 1978; newspaper clippings on city planning; study, planned development district, 1972-1974; papers Staunton



Planning Commission concerning transportation, tourism, minutes, annexation; report on the Horticulture Department; Staunton United Revitalization Effort memo, 1984; Planning Commission and Historic Staunton Foundation; editorial on oversize loads

**2018.0052** Photocopies of Augusta County Land Book and Personal Property Book, 1800: photocopies of the Augusta County Land Book, 1800 [real property taxes] and personal property tax book, 1800

**2018.0053** Newsworthy Issues of the *Staunton Daily News Leader*, 1996-2000: issues of the *Staunton Daily News Leader* covering local results of elections including election of Bill Clinton as president; presidential election of 2000, Bush v. Gore, and counting the Florida returns; reaction to death of Mother Teresa. Local returns given in some issues.

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# AUGUSTA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2018 OFFICERS

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**Publicity** — Doug Cochran

**Office manager:** Mary Gooden

**Office hours:** Tues., Thurs., Friday 9 a.m.-noon;  
Wed. 9 a.m.-noon (Call first about Wednesday visits)  
Other visits by appointment.

**Office phone:** 540-248-4151

**Website:** [www.augustacountyhs.org](http://www.augustacountyhs.org)

**Email:** [augustachs@ntelos.net](mailto:augustachs@ntelos.net)

**Mailing address:** P.O. Box 686, Staunton, VA 24402

**Augusta County Historical Society office and research library are located on the third floor of the R.R. Smith Center for History and Art at 20 South New Street, Staunton, VA 24401. A parking garage is located across the street.**

**For more information about membership, Society resources, visiting the reserach library, publications for sale, or upcoming events, visit [www.augustacountyhs.org](http://www.augustacountyhs.org)**



## Augusta County Historical Society & Augusta County Genealogical Society Family Heritage Program

The Augusta County Historical Society joins with the Augusta County Genealogical Society to offer with pride a family heritage recognition program for those whose family roots extend to the early years of the county, and who wish to submit their line of descent to complement the growing archives of the two societies.

Three types of membership in Augusta Pioneers are recognized. *First Families* of Augusta County is the membership category for those whose ancestors settled in the county in the period from its founding in 1738 (or before) to the year 1800. *Pioneer Families* of Augusta County is for those whose forbears settled in Augusta County in the nineteenth century, that is between the years 1801 and 1900. *Junior Pioneers* of Augusta County recognizes young people from the cradle to age eighteen who are descendants of First Families or Pioneer Families.

If you believe that you are qualified to be an Augusta Pioneer or if you would also like to enroll young family members—children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews—simply send in the form below to receive the application. Completed applications will be checked and then certified by the societies' boards that you have been accepted for membership in either First Families of Augusta County, Pioneer Families of Augusta County, or Junior Pioneers of Augusta County. The application genealogy files become a part of the archives of the Augusta County Historical Society and the Augusta County Genealogical Society and will be made available to family researchers.

All members will receive a handsome matted certificate of membership, suitable for framing. Membership in Augusta Pioneers is a one-time recognition that lasts a lifetime. Once the initial application fee is paid, there are no annual dues assessed. The fee for membership in Augusta Pioneers is a flat \$50 for descent from one ancestor. Additional ancestors may be added for \$20 each. The junior member enrollment fee is \$20. Upon reaching the age of eighteen, junior members can elect to pay the additional \$30 to become full-fledged members.

\_\_\_\_ Yes! I am interested in becoming a member of the Augusta County Family Heritage Program Please send the official application form and instructions for its completion to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
e-mail \_\_\_\_\_

*Please note that you may also print this same form from our website **www.augustacountyhs.org***

\*\*\*Mail the form to: Augusta County Historical Society, Attn.:  
Family Heritage Program, P.O. Box 686, Staunton, VA 24402-0686